CULTURE CONTACT IN SOUTHERN LABRADOR AND NEWFOUNDLAND'S GREAT NORTHERN PENINSULA: AN ETHNOHISTORICAL AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL APPROACH

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Culture Contact in Southern Labrador and Newfoundland's Great Northern Peninsula: An Ethnohistorical and Archaeological Approach

by
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A thesis submitted to the
School of Graduate Studies
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts

Department of Archaeology/Faculty of Arts
Memorial University

June 2013
St. John's, Newfoundland and Labrador

Abstract

This thesis examines cultural interactions in southern Labrador and Newfoundland's Great Northern Peninsula between numerous Aboriginal (Beothuk, Innu and Inuit) and European (Basques, English, French and Norse) groups following the arrival of the Norse ca. AD 1000. The presence of so many groups, each with their own agendas and prejudices, impacted the development of relationships along the coast. Drawing upon ethnohistorical and archaeological data this thesis explores the multifaceted development of contact relationships. The ethnohistorical research examines the larger picture of culture contact in the region and explores the gradual transition from sporadic contact to more formalized trade initiatives. The archaeological research focuses on the movement of two classes of European goods, iron nails and ceramics, onto Inuit sites in southern Labrador. The archaeological research illuminates the Inuit decision-making process regarding the method in which they obtained these goods, either through scavenging or trading, and the effects of the transition from French to English dominance along the Labrador coast.

Acknowledgements

The completion of this research was made possible by the financial support of various institutions including: the Northern Scientific Training Program, Memorial University, the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC), and Understanding the Past to Build the Future a Community-University Research Alliance Project (CURA-SSHRC).

First, I would like to thank my supervisor, Dr. Peter Pope for his patience, encouragement and enthusiasm. Often, I would enter his office with a research question, and, thanks to his thought provoking questions, I would leave with new ideas and a renewed confidence and excitement for my project.

I would also like to thank my thesis review committee Dr. Lisa Rankin and Dr. Marianne Stopp. Your comments and suggestions were thought provoking and improved the quality of my thesis.

I was fortunate to work at two of the sites studied in this thesis. These research experiences shaped me as an archaeologist and researcher and they would not have been possible without the wonderful field crews. Thanks to the 2009 field crew at Dos de Cheval: Mélissa Burns, Natalie Byrne, Eric Guiry, Annique Jones-Doyle and Peter Pope. And thanks to the 2010 and 2011 crews at North Dead Island: Chelsee Arbour, Edward Cadwell, Art and Eva Luther (and Mickey), Will McGrath, Thomas McKenna, Dylan Morris, Marianne Stopp, Rodney Turnbull and Laura-June Zinck.

I would also like to thank those who helped with my research in St. John's. Thank you to the staff, faculty and graduate students in the Department of Archaeology at Memorial for all of their help and encouragement. A special thanks to Amanda Crompton, Amy St. John and Dr. Barry Gaulton for their help with ceramic identifications and to Donna Teasedale for her assistance in the Conservation Lab. As well, I would like to thank my fellow Petit Nord researchers, Mélissa Burns and Amy St. John, for sharing historical sources and ideas, and to Bryn Tapper for providing the maps for this thesis. I would like to acknowledge the Rooms Provincial Museum in St. John's, particularly Elaine Anton, for providing lab space to look at ceramic assemblages and for access to the comparative collections. I am incredibly grateful to Marianne Stopp for answering my seemingly endless questions regarding all things Labrador; your insight, guidance and suggestions for additional sources to examine were essential to my research. And thank you to Miranda Molnar and Erinne Wolfe for editing my thesis. Your feedback and grammar expertise were indispensable.

Finally, I would like to thank my friends and family. My experience at MUN would not have been the same without the support of my grad class and roommates, thanks for the encouragement and much needed laughter. Thanks to all of my friends and extended family back home for the support. To my siblings, Scott and Chelsa for all of the suppers and conversations that prevented me from developing cabin fever, and to Erinne for the chats and much-needed distractions when I hit a problem. And to my parents for their unwavering support and encouragement that allowed me to pursue my education.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Introduction

With the arrival of the Norse at L'Anse Aux Meadows around AD 1000, Newfoundland and Labrador became the site of the first known interactions between the Aboriginals of North America and Europeans. Interactions between Europeans and Aboriginals in southern Labrador and Newfoundland's Great Northern Peninsula increased with the development of European economies, particularly the cod fishing and whaling industries, in the sixteenth century. This long history of cultural interactions makes Newfoundland and Labrador a particularly suitable setting for examining the long-term processes involved in the study of culture contact. Culture contact is a complex set of interactions between different cultural groups in a specific geographical area. These interactions can take place between any two distinct cultural groups. However, in most North American contexts culture contact studies are almost exclusively viewed in terms of interactions between Aboriginals and Europeans, and, more often than not, focus on two specific groups. This places the two groups into a vacuum of sorts. However, culture contact cannot be viewed as something that affects two groups in isolation or even as a single event. Instead, culture contact should be seen as a series of entanglements, involving numerous groups and events.

Newfoundland and Labrador's maritime environment provided the setting for the interaction of several distinct cultural groups, both European and Aboriginal. The rich resources of the North Atlantic were highly sought after by both the Europeans and

Aboriginals. Aboriginal groups like the Inuit hunted seals and sometimes whales and fished the waters off the coast of Labrador and Newfoundland. In addition to the coastal resources Aboriginal groups exploited the salmon rivers in southern Labrador and the lower Quebec North Shore. European groups initially travelled to this region to engage in cod fishing and whale and walrus hunting. The fishery was distinct from other European ventures in the New World as the fishing crews were only in Newfoundland and Labrador seasonally, and did not attempt to establish a permanent year-round presence along the coast. This study will examine the interactions between Aboriginals and Europeans from the arrival of Europeans around AD 1000, until the permanent presence of British merchant crews in southern Labrador and Moravian mission in northern Labrador beginning in the 1770s.

Culture contact is a complicated process and is best served by a multifaceted approach. To better understand the contact period in southern Labrador and the Great Northern Peninsula, I have examined both the ethnohistorical and archaeological records. These two approaches, ethnohistorical and archaeological, are distinct portions of this study. The ethnohistorical portion casts a wider net and looks at all of the European and Aboriginal groups involved in cultural interaction in the study area, revealing the broader processes of culture contact. The archaeological study is narrower and examines how two key European artifacts, ceramics and iron nails, found their way into Inuit houses. The patterns observed in the ethnohistorical and archaeological studies will be examined to see how, and if, these patterns differ. By combining these distinct methods, I hope to develop a more complete understanding of the process of cultural interactions in the study area.

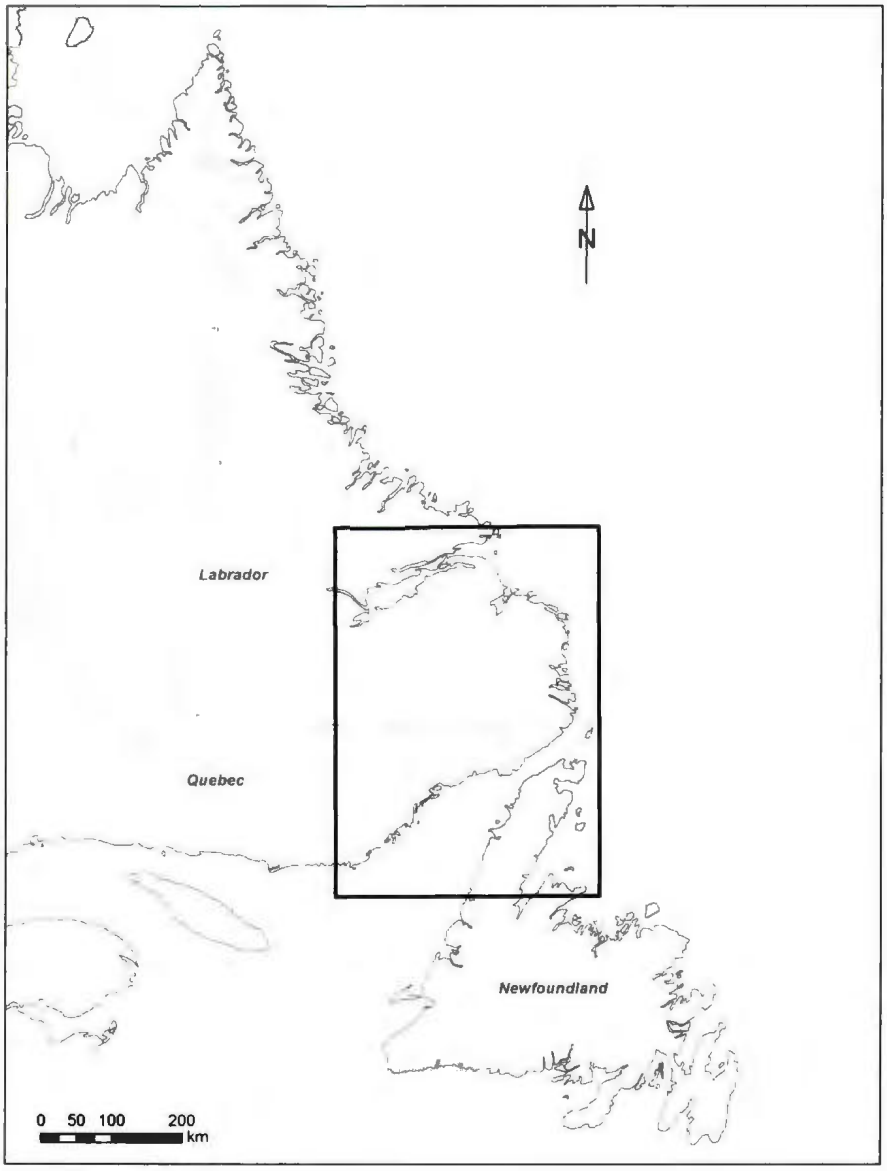


Figure 1.1: Newfoundland and Labrador, study area is highlighted (Bryn Tapper for An Archaeology of the Petit Nord)[1]

[1] All maps unless otherwise stated are from Natural Resources Canada, Earth Sciences Sector, Mapping Information Branch, Centre for Topographic Information, Sherbrooke, QC. Available online: http://www.geogratis.gc.ca.

1.2 The Study Area

The Canadian province of Newfoundland and Labrador consists of two distinct land masses divided by the Strait of Belle Isle. This body of water often divides the province into two distinct entities in both archaeological and historical studies. However, the strait should not be viewed as a barrier to the movement of people between Labrador and Newfoundland, but rather as a highway that allowed the transport of both people and goods (Holly 2003:134; Pastore 1989:64).

This study will focus on the Great Northern Peninsula of Newfoundland and southern Labrador (Figure 1). This area was chosen for several reasons. First, it has the longest history of known European contact in North America, dating back to the arrival of the Norse. Second, the area also has one of the earliest histories of continual European contact following the arrival of French fishing crews in the early sixteenth century who along with the French and Spanish Basques and later the British, and to a lesser extend the Portuguese, Dutch and Americans, exploited the rich maritime resources of the study area. Third, in addition to the numerous European groups, the preexisting relationships between the Aboriginal groups added an additional dimension to any cultural interactions in the region. These groups included the Beothuk on the Island of Newfoundland, Innu and the Inuit. Therefore, the southern Labrador and the Great Northern Peninsula are ideal area for examining long term cultural interactions and the ways in which these groups adapted to the situations with which they were presented.

For the purposes of this thesis, the Great Northern Peninsula is defined partially by the boundaries of the French Shore. I say "partially" because the boundaries of the

French Shore shifted following various European treaties. The Great Northern Peninsula stretches from Fleur de Lys on the east coast to Bonne Bay on the western coast. Southern Labrador refers to the area south of Hamilton Inlet and ends roughly at the present-day border of the provinces of Quebec and Newfoundland and Labrador, at Blanc Sablon, Quebec. While the provincial line is artificial, it serves the purpose of limiting the study area. These boundaries are a general guideline and, in some cases, the ethnohistorical data have warranted consideration of events that occurred somewhat outside of these borders.

1.3 Theoretical Context

1.3.1 Culture Contact

The idea of culture contact is a theoretical construct. Due to the wide scope of interactions covered by contact, and a lack of a unified archaeological theory of culture contact, many different approaches have been applied (Alexander 1998; Cusick 1998). Murray notes several ways of seeing contact, including, but not limited to, acculturation, dominance, resistance, ethnogensis, gender, evolutionary theories and world systems theory (Murray 2004:2). Within the broader construct of culture contact, several different specific theoretical approaches can be used. I will be exploring culture contact by using three approaches: ethnohistory, agency and middle ground theory.

The term *culture contact* has come to refer to any encounter between two distinct cultural groups. In North America this usage has tended to focus on interactions between Aboriginals and Europeans (Cusick 1998). The term *culture contact* is broad and

encompasses a variety of different scenarios and time periods. Some critics have argued that the term *culture contact* sanitizes the encounters and implies that they were neutral, when in fact these encounters were really about power relationships (Loren 2008:2, 6; Silliman 2005a). However, I feel that the term *culture contact* is applicable to this study because it embraces all forms of interaction and does not reduce every relationship to a struggle for power. The term *colonialism* for example refers to a very specific type of culture contact and European agenda. It is important to understand that the European presence in the study region was not solely concerned with *colonialism*. Furthermore, the term *colonialism* has come to be associated with specific power structures that were not necessarily at play in every situation. Trudel identifies several different European activities on the eastern seaboard including official exploration of the area, the development and expansion of the migratory fishery, trade with Aboriginal populations, as well as the development of colonial settlements (Trudel1981:84). Silliman urges researchers to recognize that our terminology "structure(s) not only our concepts and interpretations of the interaction of Native Americans and settlers but also the mental image formed by our audiences and collaborators when we narrate those histories" (Silliman 2005a:56). A term like *colonialism* is too narrow for this study and, leads me to prefer, the broader terms *culture contact* or *interaction.*

There are two theories within culture contact studies that I feel are particularly useful in this context: *agency* and *middle ground theory. Agency* focuses on the individual or the group as actively making decisions and not as passive recipients of a more dominant culture (Hodder and Hutson 2003:100, 104; Trigger 1985:3). Often archaeologists and historians studying culture contact situations place too much emphasis

on the actions and motives of the incoming Europeans and the effect that they had on the Aboriginal population. Such over emphasis is all too easy, as Europeans left behind written records. Instead, Aboriginals need to be viewed as active participants in the creation of a new social environment (Trigger 1985:4; Wilson and Rogers 1993:5). Aboriginals and Europeans had vastly different cultures and, therefore, actively selected different aspects of material culture and ideas from other groups, to incorporate into their own culture (Silliman 2005b:281; Wilson and Rogers 1993:5).

Middle Ground Theory involves the creation of a mutual understanding through which two distinct cultural groups can interact peacefully (White 1991:x). It is not a physical space but rather a "place in between: in between cultures, peoples" (White 1991:x). The groups involved adopted different practices and actions that would be acceptable to both groups involved. This allowed the two distinct groups to work together. There were many cases where a middle ground was not created. The reasons behind this lack of cooperation are just as interesting and complex as the mechanisms that create the middle ground. A relationship between two groups can only be established when the groups acknowledge the other's presence as meaningful. This acknowledgement in turn leads to the development of communication between the groups (McAleese 2000:355; Reid 1995:87). The middle ground is an expansion upon the idea of agency. It does not focus on the agency of a single group but rather looks at the agency of both groups involved in cultural interactions and creates a more complete picture.

Despite the lack of a unified theoretical approach to culture contact, archaeology is nonetheless well suited to contribute to discussions of this process. The time depth of

archaeology allows us to track changes within a culture over longer periods than in other social studies (Alexander 1998). In order to take full advantage of this time depth, the discipline's divide between precontact and historic archaeology must be bridged (Lightfoot 1995; Loren 2008:7). It would be naive to say that the arrival of the Europeans did not have a profound effect on Aboriginal life ways but it would also be naive to believe that Aboriginal life ways were not fluid and changing before contact. By separating precontact and historic archaeology we limit the information that we have. In order to understand change, which is one of the goals of archaeology and of ethnohistory, we need to know where each group came from, physically and culturally. The goal is not to understand cultural change as an assimilation of Aboriginal life ways into European ones, but as a way to determine what was adopted and what transformations, if any, occurred in Aboriginal cultures (Lightfoot 1995:206). In addition to time depth, archaeology allows us to examine events not recorded by Europeans and, therefore, not filtered through a European view point (Galloway 2006:11; Rogers and Wilson 1993).

Often contact has been seen as a specific event, such as first contact when Europeans first set eyes on the New World and its inhabitants. This gives the impression that contact is a mythical, almost timeless event (Lutz 2007:1). However, to see contact as a single event, or even several individual events, over-simplifies a complex process. Culture contact is better understood as a series of interactions that forced two or more cultural groups, with different agendas, beliefs and life ways to interact (Galloway 2006:15-16; Loren 2008:2-3; Silliman 2005a:61). This process happens within what Pratt has termed the contact zone. This is both a physical and temporal space in which these cultural interactions occur, and not a single event tied to a specific location (Pratt 1992:6).

Cusick sums up culture contact as "a continuum of human social and geographical relationships that involve 'outsiders' and that induce change and adjustment" (Cusick 1998:4). As no culture exists in isolation, culture contact is an essential and useful way to look at interactions between groups (Cusick 1998; Loring 1992; Wolf 1997).

1.3.2 Ethnohistory

Ethnohistory looks at non-literate or disenfranchised groups who are often overlooked by written western histories. James Axtell has defined ethnohistory as "the use of historical and ethnological methods and material to gain knowledge of the nature and cause of change in a culture (or cultures)" (Axtell 2001:2). In the case of North America, ethnohistorians have tended to focus on Aboriginal groups as they did not leave behind a written history and, were considered a "people without history" (Wolf 1997). The historical record in North America has been written primarily by Europeans and is therefore an incomplete account. Understandably Europeans would not have recorded events that were important only to Aboriginal people, as they were either not observed, not understood or were not seen as relevant (Fogelson 1989; Galloway 2006:15). Unfortunately, most of historical archaeology is focused on the archaeology of Europeans in North America and not on Aboriginal populations during the period of contact (Rogers and Wilson 1993:7). Trigger suggests that ethnohistory should not be viewed as a distinct discipline, as this suggests that the history of non-literate peoples is qualitatively different than the history of literate ones (Trigger 1982:4). Rather, ethnohistory can be used as both a theoretical and a methodological framework which can be combined with archaeology to create a more complete and holistic view of culture contact.

In the context of the migratory fishery and other early economic ventures in Newfoundland and Labrador, ethnohistory can be applied to the majority of the Europeans who ventured to the New World. Most of these men were illiterate and, therefore, did not leave behind their own records. So, the everyday lives and concerns of the fishers and whalers were not documented. Rather, the documents recorded the extraordinary events and gave only broad summaries about the everyday activities. Unremarkable interactions between Aboriginals and Europeans might not be recorded, particularly if they were experienced by illiterate crewmen.

It is important to remember that culture contact is not just about a specific interaction or event. It is a process of cultural change and negotiations. Each group involved within this exchange brought with them their own personal biases, which must be considered (Lutz 2007). That is to say that even before contact occurred, the groups involved had a preconceived notion of what the other groups would be like. While the European perspective is recorded in letters or other documents, we can only guess at what Aboriginals experienced (Bailey 1969:6). By combining archaeology and ethnohistory it is possible to gain a better understanding of events from all perspectives.

1.4 Thesis Overview

This thesis is divided into two sections. The first will focus on ethnohistorical research and the second will explore how the broad patterns of culture contact are reflected in the archaeological record. Chapter 2 examines the physical and social settings of culture contact. This will include a broad environmental overview and will look at the histories of the individual groups involved in the area. The third chapter will

take a closer look at the ethnohistory of culture contact. The archaeological chapters follow and focus on the movement of two European artifacts, iron nails and ceramics, into Inuit sites. Chapter 4 will deal with nails and Chapter 5 examines the movement of ceramics. Chapter 6 will situate the specific archaeological conclusions within the broader context of the ethnohistorical data and will discuss the larger picture of culture contact in Newfoundland and Labrador.

Chapter 2 – The Physical and Social Context of Contact in Southern Labrador and the Great Northern Peninsula

2.1 Environmental Context

The economies of Newfoundland and Labrador in the early contact period (1500-1750), both Aboriginal and European, were based primarily on marine resources, while terrestrial resources were secondary. A notable exception to this is the increased reliance of the Innu on caribou towards the latter half of this period. Who exploited these resources, as well as where and when, became increasingly problematic as most of the cultural groups in the area were competing over access to resources. European competition over access to cod became an important feature in treaties during the eighteenth century. Competition over access to seal hunting areas was an issue between Europeans and the Inuit and amongst the Europeans themselves (Stopp 2008). This competition over marine resources would factor into how cultural groups interacted. Therefore, the marine and terrestrial environments, and the resources they provided, are an important part of understanding interactions between cultural groups. The following section summarizes the environment and resources of Newfoundland and Labrador but does not distinguish between different subsistence systems of the different groups in the study area.

The Canadian province of Newfoundland and Labrador represents two distinct land masses. Labrador is attached to the mainland of Canada and is the easternmost portion of the Canadian Shield. It is separated from the Island of Newfoundland by the Strait of Belle Isle. Both of these land masses are affected by the Labrador Current which flows along the coast of Labrador and into the Strait of Belle Isle, moving cold water,

pack ice and icebergs south along the coast. This extends the Arctic climate down into areas that are well out of the subarctic region. The current serves as a moderating influence, keeping the temperatures along the coast cooler in summer and warmer in the winter than the interior of the province.

The presence of ice along the coast determines when marine resources are available. According to Kaplan, shore ice along the Labrador coast begins to form in late November, which results in the waters directly off the coast being obscured by land fast ice (Kaplan 1983:70). The ice holds fast until late May when it softens breaking up completely in May or June. This ice is then carried by the Labrador Current into the Strait of Belle Isle, blocking the strait for a large portion of the spring (Bell 2002a). The presence of the ice dictates what resources are available, as well as how and when they are hunted. Aboriginal groups knew specific areas where sea mammals would congregate during the winter and were able to return to these areas annually (Kaplan 1983:79). European crews would have to wait for the ice to melt to begin fishing and then would be forced to leave before the ice formed.

Fish were a key resource to both the Aboriginals and the Europeans in the area. Fish, after all, were the original reason for European voyages to Newfoundland and Labrador. Several species were exploited off the coasts of Labrador and Newfoundland. These included northern cod and other members of the cod family, salmon and arctic char, and smaller species such as capelin and sculpin (Brice-Bennett 1977; Higgins 2009). Inuit also exploited the blue mussel, which can be found in beds along the coast (Brewster 2005:51; Stopp and Jalbert 2010).

Marine mammals were a highly valued resource. Six species of seal were found along the Labrador Coast. Four of these species were of economically important: the bearded seal, the harp seal, the harbour seal and the ringed seal. All of these species were hunted for food, clothing, shelter and fuel (Kaplan 1983:81). Whales were also a valuable trade commodity and target for both European whalers and the northern Labrador Inuit (Barkham 2001; Jordan and Kaplan 1980:42). Whales provided blubber, which was rendered into oil, as well as baleen and whale bone which were sought-after materials. The bowhead whale was hunted by both the northern Inuit and the Basque (Kaplan 1983:94; Logan and Tuck 1990:66; Proulx 2007a:34). The southern Inuit groups traded whale oil and baleen to Europeans but they obtained it from the northern Inuit groups and did not hunt for whales in the same waters as the Europeans.

The terrestrial animals of Labrador were another valuable resource. These included larger animals like black bears, caribou and moose were hunted seasonally for both their meat and fur (Bell 2002b; Kaplan 1983:92, 97-101). Smaller fur-bearing mammals, like the red fox, martens, minks, fisher, otter and wolverine, were hunted predominately for their valuable pelts (Brewster 2005:48-49). While they were hunted before the Europeans arrived, the exploitation of these small mammals increased as fur trapping became an important source of income due to the growth of the fur trade (Fitzhugh 1977:34). Migratory and non-migratory birds and waterfowl were an important source of meat and eggs (Bell 2002b). The terrestrial animals of the Island of Newfoundland were quite limited when compared to Labrador. There are historically only 14 indigenous land-dwelling mammals (Tuck and Pastore 1985:69). Some of these are now extinct, like the Newfoundland wolf, and others were simply not exploited by

humans, like the two different bat species. Some researchers believe that this lack of fall-back species led to several different extinction episodes on the island (Pastore 1989:53; Tuck and Pastore 1985).[2]

2.2 Historical Background

This section gives a brief history and general description of the European and Aboriginal groups in the study area. This is not meant to be a definitive history of any of the peoples, but will serve as a means to facilitate further discussion in later chapters. The general characteristics of each group, along with their seasonal round and the goods they exploited, will be discussed. These groups were not operating within a social or spatial vacuum that neatly separated them from one another (Loring 1992:24). It is also important to bridge the disciplinary divide between the precontact and historic periods, particularly when dealing with Aboriginal interactions. Therefore, this section will also include some prehistoric context. Particular attention will be given to the Inuit, as they form the basis for the archaeological portion of this study.

2.2.1 The Innu

The modern day Aboriginal group known as the Innu have traditionally occupied the interior of the Quebec-Labrador Peninsula (Trudel 1981:103). In the past this group has been divided into two peoples based on their geographical distribution and were known collectively as the Montagnais-Naskapi. The Montagnais occupied the wooded areas in the south and the Naskapi, as research indicates, spent more time on the interior plateaus and farther north (Trudel 1981:104) This division though, is now regarded an a

[2] See Renouf 1999 for the opposing position.

European construct and the Montagnais-Naskapi are now known by their chosen name of the Innu. Historically, the Innu had a seasonal round that brought them to the coast during the spring and summer months to exploit marine resources and then retreated to the interior to hunt caribou and other terrestrial mammals during the winter. This seasonal round is classified as a modified-interior system (Fitzhugh 1977:2).

The Innu of the contact period are descendants of the Late Precontact Innu, particularly the Daniel Rattle and Point Revenge groups, and it is posited that the Late Precontact Innu descended from the Maritime Archaic (Loring 1992:8-9; Pastore 1992:11; Rankin 2008:16-17). These groups had a fairly general adaptive strategy: the winter was spent hunting caribou in the interior, while the spring and summer months were spent on the coast hunting seals and other marine animals (Armitage 1991:17). The Point Revenge and Daniel Rattle cultures cover a large region from the Strait of Belle Isle up into the Nain region of northern Labrador (Mailhot 1997:6). The distribution of these people changed with the arrival of European and Aboriginal outsiders. The arrival of the Thule/Inuit, ancestors of the contact period Inuit, changed the resource exploitation and land use patterns of the Point Revenge/Innu (Armitage 1991:17; Loring 1992:13-14; Mailhot 1997:7). This drove the Point Revenge into the interior and farther south (Armitage 1991:17; Mailhot 1997:7).

The Innu continued to exploit both the interior and the coast into the historic period. They exchanged both work and furs for European goods (Armitage 1991:23-24). These activities occurred predominantly along Quebec's Northern Shore and into the Gulf of Saint Lawrence. The Innu had early and prolonged interactions with the Basque and the French, which can be seen in the early development of a trade or pidgin language that

enabled the groups to communicate (Bakker 1988). Europeans began to explore the traditional territory of the Innu, which, along with the establishment of trading posts in the interior, forced the Innu gradually to abandon the coast, as evidenced by the lack of historic period Innu sites there (Loring 1992:14). The Innu continued to trade with Europeans, but the focus of this trading relationship shifted away from the coast and to inland posts, particularly those around the Lake Melville Region (Mailhot 1997:11-14; Martijn 1990:231). The Innu way of life was largely unaltered before the establishment of these trading posts and their interactions with Europeans were largely positive (Armitage 1997; Tanner 1999). However, with encouragement from the European traders, some Innu began to give up their traditional lifeways and focused almost entirely on trapping to produce furs. This shift was disastrous and many Innu starved to death (Tanner 1999). Despite this, the way of life of the Innu stayed relatively intact until the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, a period beyond the scope of this discussion.

Despite the clear association of the Innu with the Labrador-Quebec Peninsula, they did in fact cross over to the Great Northern Peninsula during the historic period. This journey was taken during the winter and might have been part of a traditional movement, although this is not clear (Martijn 1990:232). While on the island they trapped animals for furs and then traded these to the French fishermen for supplies (Martijn 1990:234). In the eighteenth century, the Innu began to arrive in Newfoundland during the summer and then stayed for the winter. In 1785 Captain G. Lumsdain reported that Innu were at Quirpon for the summer before heading inland to trap furs (Martijn 1990:234). Eventually this seasonal visitation shifted until some Innu families spent the entire year on the Island of Newfoundland.

2.2.2 The Inuit

The Inuit were late arrivals to Labrador, arriving around the same time as the Europeans. The historic period Inuit are a direct continuation of the pre-contact Thule. The Thule originated in northern Alaska and moved rapidly from west to east across the high arctic to northeastern Canada and Greenland around 1050 or 1100 AD, eventually migrating into northern Labrador in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century (Kaplan 1983; Schledermann 1971; Schledermann and McCullough 1980; Ramsden and Rankin in press). At this time, the northern portion of the Labrador Peninsula was occupied by the Late Dorset Culture and the rest of the peninsula was occupied by the Recent Indian population (Fitzhugh 1977:31). The exact reason for the Inuit migration into northern Labrador is not known. Many ideas have been put forth including environmental factors, the desire to exploit a larger whale population, a desire to exploit iron from the Cape York Meteor and the drive to exploit European sources of iron along the coast (Fitzhugh 1977:32, McCartney 1991; McGhee 2009; Odess et al. 2000:200; Park 1993; Ramsden and Rankin in press; Stopp 2011b). The Thule migrated down the Labrador coast and possible came into contact with the Dorset in northern Labrador and Recent Indians.

Changes in the Thule/Inuit culture in Labrador are often traced using Schledermann's architectural phases, which outlines three distinct periods based on changes in winter sod houses (Schledermann 1971). This analysis was developed based on excavations in northern Labrador, specifically Saglek Bay, but these changes have been applied to cultural changes in southern Labrador (Brewster 2005; Kaplan 1983, 1985; Murphy 2011; Richling 1993). Schledermann's architectural scheme for northern Labrador can be used alongside a three-stage chronology developed by Jordan and

Kaplan for the Hamilton Inlet region (Jordan and Kaplan 1980; Murphy 2011). Although these schemes are not identical, for ease of discussion they will be discussed together. Schledermann's Early Phase (AD 1450-1700) coincides with Jordan and Kaplan's Colonization period (AD 1600-1700) and is defined by smaller single or multi-family dwellings and a lack of European trade goods (Jordan and Kaplan 1980; Schledermann 1971:68-69). The second phase is the Communal House Phase (1700-1850) or the Intermittent Trading period (1700-1850) corresponds with an increase in both European goods in the house and the appearance of large multi-family dwellings (Jordan and Kaplan 1980; Schledermann 1971:103, 107). The final phase is the Late Phase (1850-present) or the Trading Post period (AD 1850-1870) which represents a shift away from communal houses and back to single family dwellings, partially due to the establishment of the Moravians in northern Labrador, and an increased reliance on European goods from trading posts and the collapse of the Inuit-European trade networks along the coast (Jordan and Kaplan 1980; Schledermann 1971:114, 134-135).

The Communal Period saw the emergence of individual Inuit men, like Tuglavina, as important figures in the established trade networks along the Labrador coast. These men were often called *big men* and were usually the heads of polygynous families, which created larger social alliances through kinship ties (Kaplan 1983; Woollett 2003:71). Despite a rather fluid and ill-defined power structure within Inuit society, missionaries noted that some men, the aforementioned big men, seemed more influential within their own society (Taylor 1974:81-88). The big men often owned European boats that they used to conduct trade with Europeans in southern Labrador, becoming middle men between the Europeans in the south and the Inuit in the north (Jordan and Kaplan 1980;

Woollett 2003:71). Their position at the head of larger family structures in Inuit society allowed them to rally enough participants to make these trading journeys possible, and, in the process, the big men became prominent figures in both European and Inuit society.

In the past, the shift to communal houses was seen as a response to either the environmental shift known as the Little Ice Age, or as a socioeconomic response to the arrival of Europeans and the appearance of the big men traders of the Communal period (Jordan and Kaplan 1980; Kaplan 1983, 1985; Shledermann 1971, 1976; Taylor 1974; Tuck 1976). More recently researchers have tried to find a balanced position, between the environmentally deterministic view of the Little Ice Age and the view of the Inuit as merely reacting to the presence of the Europeans as posited by the socio-economic framework of the big men theory. In order to effectively combine these viewpoints internal cultural factors within Inuit society have been considered as reasons behind these changes (Cabak and Loring 2000; Kaplan and Woolett 2000; Richling 1993; Stopp 2002; Woollett 2003).

The Inuit practiced a modified maritime subsistence pattern that Fitzhugh defines as a "settlement pattern predominately located on the coast and islands including year-round residence, but with some restricted seasonal use of interior resources near the coast" (Fitzhugh 1977:2). The Inuit subsisted on a marine-based diet. This included whales, seals, fish and invertebrates like mussels. Whales were particularly important as they were a source of oil and baleen, which were important trade items. The Inuit lived in

the inner bays in tents in the summer and lived in outer bays in sod houses in the winter.[3] Woollett describes the Inuit as a "'somewhat complex' foraging society with both status-producing and egalitarian institutions demonstrated in particular circumstances, in a hierarchically organized social structure" (Woollett 2003:28). This view of Inuit society allows for the development of the big men traders.

As previously mentioned, the Inuit moved down the coast of Labrador and, by 1600, were known to be permanently settled as far south as Hamilton Inlet (Fitzhugh 1977:34). However, the presence of the Inuit south of Hamilton Inlet has been subject to some debate. In the seminal 1980 issue of *Études/Inuit/Studies*, several articles discussed this issue with a general consensus that the Inuit were present south of Hamilton Inlet as early as the sixteenth century (Martijn and Clermont 1980). However, the nature of this presence, whether it was permanent or merely seasonal, continues to be debated. The southern extent of Inuit settlement is the focus of the multidisciplinary Community-University Research Alliance (CURA) project, *Understanding the Past to Build the Future*, hereafter referred to as *CURA* (CURA 2012). Current research, including both documentary and archaeological, supports the idea that Inuit were present in southern Labrador on a permanent basis and did not use southern camps as staging areas for trading with Europeans or scavenging from European sites (Brewster 2005; Murphy 2011; Rankin 2010; Stopp 2002). While no archaeological sites have been excavated in Newfoundland, there are numerous references to Inuit crossing the Strait to trade in

[3] For more information on the Inuit seasonal round and foraging strategies see Fitzhugh 1977; Kaplan 1983; Stopp 2002:95; Taylor 1974 and Woollett 2003. For information specifically concerning the southern extent of Inuit occupation and their foraging strategies see Brewster 2005.

Newfoundland and their presence there played a prominent role in European policies on the Great Northern Peninsula (Martijn 2009).

The contact period presented the Inuit with better access to a valuable resource: iron. The Inuit were already familiar with iron, having exploited meteoric iron and, in Greenland, European iron from the Norse settlements (McCullough 1989; Schledermann and McCullough 1980; McCartney 1991). The Inuit engaged in trade with the Europeans but were also known to scavenge items from seasonal European fishing and whaling stations (Stopp 2002). Many of these encounters with Europeans were violent, leading to deaths on both sides (Stopp 2002). Despite this, peaceful trading did occur. With the transfer of Labrador from French to English control in 1763, the English set out specific guidelines in an attempt to create peaceful trade. The English believed that a decrease in violence would give them better access to the coast and its resources. Part of this strategy involved allowing Moravian missionaries to establish settlements in northern Labrador (Rollmann 2009; Stopp 2009). The Inuit were encouraged to settle at the missions and to trade at the mission's store. This would eliminate the need to foray into southern Labrador for trade. While the Moravians did wish to convert the Inuit to Christianity, they did not desire to change their way of life; instead they encouraged the Inuit to continue to hunt so that they would not become dependent upon the mission for their survival (Rollmann 2009). The Inuit gradually retreated from southern Labrador to the Moravian Missions in the north. This did not mean, however, that the Inuit presence in southern Labrador was over. While this paper does not deal with the Moravians and their interactions with the Inuit, the success of the missions did alter the Inuit presence in southern Labrador. Following their settlement at the Moravian Missions, the Inuit shifted

away from the seasonal round previously discussed toward a more settled European lifestyle.

2.2.3 The Beothuk

The Beothuk were Newfoundland's only Aboriginal group at the time of European contact. They are often used as a cautionary tale about the destructive nature of European intervention and colonialism, as they ceased to exist as a distinct culture following the death of Shanawdithit in 1829. The Beothuk were the direct descendants of the archaeological culture known as the Recent Indians. The Recent Indians likely developed on the Quebec-Labrador peninsula and then migrated across the strait to Newfoundland (Pastore 1992:11; Rankin 2008:16-17). The Norse who arrived on the Great Northern Peninsula around AD 1000 encountered people whom they called *skraelings*. Some of the *skraelings* of the Vinland sagas were most likely either early Amerindian peoples (possibly ancestral Beothuk) or Paleoeskimo groups (Pastore 2000; Wallace 2003). If the Vikings did venture as far south as New Brunswick the *skraelings* could be associated with the Ancestral Mi'kmaq (Wallace 2003).

Before the arrival of the second wave of Europeans c. 1500, the Beothuk used most of the Island of Newfoundland (Pastore 1989:52). They exploited both terrestrial and marine animals. The majority of the pre-contact archaeological sites, therefore, are found along the coast (Pastore 1989:52-53). The Beothuk moved seasonally to exploit these resources. For example they occupied the Boyd Cove site to take advantage of the smelt run at Indian Brook (Pastore 1992:15). Despite evidence of early trade, at some point following the arrival of the Europeans, the Beothuk began a policy of avoidance.

This culminated in their withdrawal from the coast and their settlement in the Exploits River region and in some areas of Notre Dame Bay (Bakker and Drapeau 1994; Pastore 1989, 1992).

The Beothuk obtained Eurpean items by scavenging at abandoned seasonal fishing sites and trading, although trading seemed to occur less frequently than scavenging (McClean 1990; Pope 1993; Pastore 1992). Furs were traded for items like copper, brass and glass beads (Pastore 1992:25). Iron from wrought iron nails and from European traps were modified to replace stone tools like scrapers and spear points (McLean 2003; Pastore 1992:23). However, since iron could easily be obtained from scavenging, the Beothuk did not seek out trade as Aboriginals did in other parts of Canada. The Beothuk preferred to avoid Europeans (Pastore 1992:56). This avoidance meant that interaction between Europeans and the Beothuk was never developed by either group and an air of suspicion developed on both sides. Encounters between the groups were increasingly violent, as the Europeans viewed the Beothuk as thieves and would shoot them (Marshall 1996:4; Pastore 1992). By the eighteenth century, the Beothuk population had dwindled. The British government began to take actions to try to prevent violence against the Beothuk, including sending expeditions into the interior to make peaceful contacts with them. However, the violence did not decrease, as the English began to extensively exploit the rivers and bays in the Notre Dame Bay area (Marshall 1996:62-65). Violence continued through the early nineteenth century. With the death of Shanadwithit, the last known Beothuk, in 1829 the Beothuk as a distinct cultural group ceased to exist.

2.2.4 The Norse

The Norse, or Vikings as they are more popularly referred to, were a farm-based society from Norway. With their settlements in Greenland and their brief stay in Newfoundland and Labrador the Norse were the first known Europeans to have contact with the Aboriginals of North America. The Norse voyages to the New World were part of the larger process of migrations known collectively as the Viking Age, which occurred from approximately AD 750 to AD 1050. The Norse initially migrated to Iceland and had established settlements in southwestern Greenland by the late tenth century (Stopp 2011a; Sutherland 2009).

Eirik "The Red" Thorvaldsson established the settlements in western Greenland around AD 982. The Norse established two settlements, the Eastern and the Western Settlements, where they flourished until the mid-fifteenth century (Sutherland 2009:281). The Norse journeys to North America were documented in the Vinland Sagas, which consists of two separate accounts of the Norse explorations: *The Greenlander's Saga* and *Erik's Saga*. According to the sagas, the Norse named three countries to the west of Greenland. From north to south these are Helluland, generally believed to be Northern Labrador and Baffin Island, Markland, southern and central Labrador, and Vinland, likely in the Gulf of St. Lawrence (Sutherland 2009:281). The Norse were experienced navigators and the trip to Helluland would have been relatively short (Sutherland 2009). Archaelogical evidence, which will be discussed in the following chapter, suggests contact between the Norse and both the Dorset and the Thule around Baffin Island and in Greenland (McGovern 1990; Stopp 2011; Sutherland 2000, 2009).

While the Norse were known to travel to both Helluland and Markland, they did not attempt to establish colonies in this region. The sagas do describe two settlements farther south one of which was possibly found at L'Anse aux Meadows (Wallace 2003). The Sagas also describe a long stretch of beaches that they called the Wonderstrand which may be the beaches near Porcupine Strand in Labrador, although there is no conclusive evidence for this (Wallace 2000a:229). If this is the case, then the Norse likely made contact with Aboriginal groups in both Newfoundland and Labrador.

A Norse presence in North America was confirmed with the discovery of the site at L'Anse aux Meadows on the north eastern tip of Newfoundland's Great Northern Peninsula. It was excavated by Anne Stine Ingstad from 1961-1968 and later by Parks Canada, uncovering several typical Norse artifacts, including nails manufactured on site with iron from the nearby bogs (Ingstad 1985; Wallace 2000a, 2000b, 2003). The site at L'Anse Aux Meadows likely served as a staging area for explorations and as the starting point for shipping resources back to the colony in Greenland. While the Norse did have contact with the Aboriginal population in Newfoundland, the more sensationalist view that violent interactions between the Norse and the Aboriginals drove the Norse from Newfoundland is probably unfounded. The main reason that the Norse departed was a lack of population back in Greenland to support the forays into the New World (Wallace 2003).[4] There is evidence for continued Norse voyages to Labrador for timber but there was no attempt to establish a permanent settlement (Finn 1970:51-52).

[4] For more information regarding the Norse Migrations, and particularly their presence in the New World, see the collections edited by Lewis-Simpson 2000 and Fitzhugh and Ward 2000.

2.2.5 The Basques

The Basques are a distinct cultural group from a region that now straddles the border between France and Spain (Proulx 2007a:25). The Basques travelled to Newfoundland to fish for cod and hunt whales. Although the Basque are more famous in Canada for whaling, they also engaged in the cod fishery. The whaling and fishing voyages were two distinct operations (Barkham 1974:75; Barkham 1994:1-2). As the whaling industry left behind more visible remains than the cod industry, many historians and archaeologists have over-estimated the importance of the Basque whaling industry (Loewen and Delmas 2012).

The Basques began heading to the New World in the early sixteenth century following the Bretons and Portugeuse. In the early days of Basque involvement in Newfoundland and Labrador, the majority of the Basque fleet came to exploit the cod stocks (Barkham 1994:1; Proulx 2007a:29-30; Tuck 1987:50). The Basque then developed an infrastructure for exploiting and processing whales that was based upon their whale hunts in the Bay of Biscay since the eleventh century. By the time they started whaling in Labrador, they had reached an almost industrial level for processing and hunting whales (Proulx 2007a:26, 2007b:42-43). By the beginning of the sixteenth century, the whale populations in the Bay of Biscay were dwindling and the Basque sought more lucrative whaling grounds in the New World, specifically in the Strait of Belle Isle (Proulx 2007a:30).

The first reference to a Basque presence along the Labrador coast is from 1536 (Barkham 1984:516). The act of hunting and processing whales was very labour intensive, requiring a large work force. This forced crews from different ships to work

together. The Innu also worked as labourers for the Basque and warned the Basque about potential attack from the Inuit (Barkham 1984:518). Most of what we know about the Basque whaling operations in Labrador comes from the excavations conducted at Red Bay. This site was extensively excavated in the 1970s and 1980s including a Basque cemetery and the underwater excavation of a Basque Galleon, the *San Juan,* which sunk in the harbour in the fall of 1565.[5] These excavations revealed an extensive built environment including structures to render the whale blubber, a cooperage for constructing barrels to transport the whale oil back to Europe, and housing for the crew.

The Basque whale hunt focussed on the right and bowhead whales as these whales were slow moving and possessed large quantities of blubber and baleen (Tuck and Grenier 1989:4-5). Whales were hunted from small boats known as *chalupas* from which sailors would thrust harpoons into the whales and then stay with them until they tired and could be killed (Tuck and Grenier 1989:14). Once the whale was brought back to shore the blubber was rendered into oil and placed in barrels to transport to Europe.

At the end of the sixteenth century, the Basque presence in the Strait of Belle Isle had decreased. There are several theories behind this departure, ranging from a decline in the whale population caused by over-exploitation of the fishery and possibly the Little Ice Age, to internal factors in Europe including wars and changing social conditions (Proulx 2007a:36). Whatever the reason behind their departure, the Basque ceased to be a major influence in the Strait in the seventeenth century.

[5] For a full account of the underwater excavations see Grenier, et al. 2007. For a popular summary of the land excavations see Tuck and Grenier 1989.

2.2.6 The French

The French presence in Newfoundland and Labrador evolved and shifted over the centuries. The earliest presence was the migratory fishery. Over time the French presence changed to include furriers, explorers and merchants. In the later stages of the contact period, the French presence included a distinct group who were called Canadians. These men were merchants from Quebec who expanded their business into Labrador and, briefly, Newfoundland.

The French migratory fishery was an important economic presence in Newfoundland and Labrador for almost 400 years starting shortly after 1500 and continuing until 1904. The Great Northern Peninsula was particularly important in this fishery and was referred to as the *Petit Nord* by the French, and later known as part of the diplomatically-defined French Shore. The French engaged in two types of cod fishing, the green and the dry fishery (de la Morandière 2005:9). The green fishery was conducted from the ship and the crews never made land fall. The focus of this study is, therefore, on the dry fishery, as it was based on land, using boats to make daily voyages out to sea and bringing the fish back to be processed onshore. Preserving the fish by lightly salting them and allowing them to air dry was the preferred method along the Petit Nord (Pope 2004:14). This required the fishermen to build a substantial infrastructure, taking up to a month to build stages, cookrooms and cabins, and to build or repair the boats needed for fishing (Loewen and Delmas 2012; Pope 2004:22).

Beginning in the early sixteenth century, French crews would visit the coast of Newfoundland for several months of the year. The crews would often return to the same harbours and peoples from different regions became associated with specific areas of the

coast. Crews from Brittany and Normandy fished predominately along the Petit Nord while the crews from the Basque country fished along the western coast of the Great Northern Peninsula and along both sides of the Strait of Belle Isle (Pope 2009:138).

The fishery was important to the European economy and access to these resources was, therefore, hotly contested. Fishing rights and territories became increasingly important and were a significant aspect of eighteenth century treaties between the French and the British, creating the Treaty, or French, Shore and its fluctuating boundary in the process (Figure 2.1). In 1713, the Treaty of Utrecht established specific French fishing territories, known as the Treaty Shore. France was forced to give up possession of most of Newfoundland but maintained the rights to fish seasonally from Cape Bonavista to Pointe Riche and maintained complete control of Labrador (Hiller 2000:7). Following the treaty the French and British co-existed and did not encroach into the others' fishing territory (Hiller 2001:9-11). During the Seven Years War the French did not come to Newfoundland and the British began to move into the Notre Dame Bay area, an area that was traditionally utilized by the French. The Treaty Shore was again modified by the Treaty of Versailles in 1783, with French territory running from Cape St. John to Cape Race, which gave the British sole access to the Notre Dame Bay region (Hiller 2001). Despite these changing boundaries, the area known as the Petit Nord was always part of the Treaty, or French, Shore. The French presence in the Great Northern Peninsula officially came to an end in 1904 with the *Entente Cordial* between Great Britain and France.

French migratory fishermen were present along the coast for several months. The fishermen not only worked at the fishing rooms, they also lived there. Archaeological

investigations at the French Fishing room *Champ Paya*, on the Great Northern Peninsula, confirmed the presence of a substantial built environment at the fishing rooms. Stages, boat ramps, galets and storerooms were built to facilitate catching and processing the cod. Additional structures like cook-rooms, cabins, bread ovens and crosses reflect the long duration of the French stay in Newfoundland (Burns 2009; Godbout 2008; Pope 2009). The permanent infrastructure on the fishing rooms increased after 1815, when rooms were assigned to specific merchant investors for a five year period. To operate a fishing room, investors had to send their boats to Newfoundland stocked with the necessary tools for both fishing and surviving on the coast. Tools included goods like hooks, nails, boats and food, which were transported and stored in large ceramic containers (St. John 2011). As these rooms were abandoned over the winter, they were attractive to the Inuit and Beothuk who were known to scavenge European sites, specifically to attain iron, usually in the form of nails (Pope 2004:22).

The French presence in Labrador had a different trajectory. During the sixteenth century, the French cod-fishery, particularly Basque and Breton fishers, was present along the coast before, during, and after the more famous Basque whaling operations. As mentioned above, the Basque whaling operations have been given more attention due to the larger and more obvious archaeological footprints that they left behind. However, the French cod-fishery had a more prolonged influence on the Labrador coast.

The French cod-fishery, consisting primarily of fishermen from the Basque country and Brittany, were active in the Strait of Belle Isle in the sixteenth century, both before and after the whaling boom. Like the fishery in Newfoundland, the Labrador fishery was a seasonal venture. The Labrador fishery was abandoned around 1630 and it

would remain absent for the rest of the seventeenth century (Trudel 1980:136). Reasons for this departure are not clear, although Trudel suggests that attacks by the Inuit as one of the reasons for the French withdrawal from the region.

While the fishery was important, it was not the only resource that interested the French. During the early years of the fishery, captains and fishermen would trade with the Innu and Inuit for furs (Stopp 2008:11). However, this trade was only conducted on the side, and it was not until later that the fur trade became an important commercial venture in its own right (Innis 1930). The early seventeenth century saw the beginnings of the fur trade in Labrador. The merchants of New France (France's territories in mainland Canada) sought to expand and diversify the economy of the colony (Trudel 1980:136). The French *seigneurial* system was established in New France along the St. Lawrence River in 1627. This system granted large tracts of land, often called concessions, to a landlord, or *seigneur*, who maintained the property for the King and, in return, was granted special privileges. The *seigneurial* system was extended to Labrador with the first concession granted in 1661 (Trudel 1978:103). These early concessions covered large tracts of land and were granted in perpetuity (Trudel 1978:103). The *seigneurs*, who were primarily merchants from Quebec, had certain obligations to fulfill including paying an annual rent to the King, reporting any minerals on the land and developing certain parts of the land for public use. The rights of the *seigneurs* included exclusive rights to the seal fishery and fishing grounds as well as the right to trade with the Innu and Inuit (Trudel 1978:104).

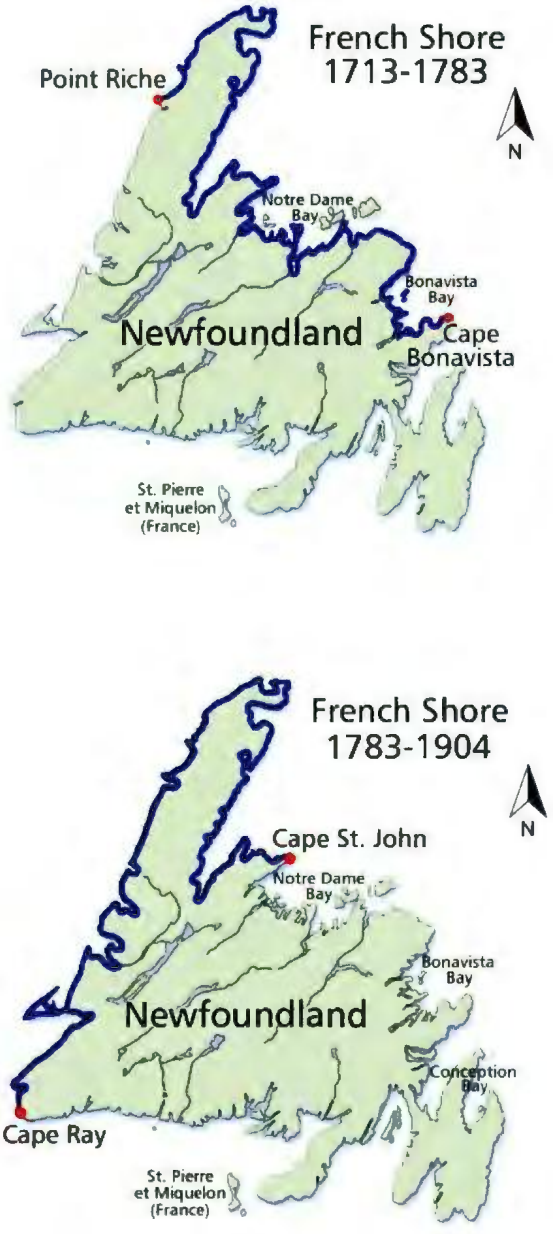


Figure 2.1 The Changing Boundaries of the French Shore. (Tanya Saunders for Newfoundland and Labrador Heritage,www.heritage.nf.ca/exploration/french_shore.html)

Following the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713, the French were required to give up important regions like Acadia (with the exception of Cape Breton). This forced French merchants to focus their commercial interests elsewhere. French merchants were aware of the resources in Labrador and returned to the coast with increased vigour. The number of concessions in Labrador increased in number, but decreased in size and were no longer granted in perpetuity following the Treaty of Utrecht (Trudel 1978:103). In 1694 Louis Jolliet, who had mapped the North Shore, explored the Labrador coast just north of Hamilton Inlet, essentially opening up the coast for French expansion (Stopp 2008:11). While the *seigneurs* did fish, most of the cod-fishery was carried out by migratory fishing crews from France (Trudel 1980:137). The *seigneurs* focussed their efforts on the sedentary seal fishery, which was very profitable (Trudel 1978:104, 1980:136-137). While the seal fishery was a more permanent presence on the coast, the migratory fishery employed more men (Trudel 1980:137).

As mentioned above, the *seigneurs* had the exclusive right to trade with the Innu and Inuit. The French had previously established a good relationship with the Innu and continued to have an excellent trading and working relationship. The past relationship between the French and Inuit was not one that was conducive to the establishment of a trading relationship. In the late sixteenth and into the seventeenth century the relationship between the Inuit and the French reached a near-state of war (Martijn 2009). Gosling claims that the Labrador fishery was abandoned in the seventeenth century due to the "continual danger of being surprised and murdered by the treacherous and bloodthirsty Eskimos" (Gosling 1910:133). Despite a relationship that could be described as tense at the best of times, French merchants hoped to profit from trade with the Inuit. Specific

laws detailing trade with the Inuit were implemented in an attempt to improve this relationship (Kaplan 1983; Stopp 2002; Trudel 1980). Fort Pontchartrain, built by Sieur de Courtemanche at Brador, was established to protect the French from Inuit attacks (Niellon 1996). Despite these efforts, in general, relations with the Inuit remained strained as the Inuit continued to scavenge from French stations, often taking boats and other essential items, prompting retaliation from the French (Trudel 1980:144). This, of course, just turned into a cycle of violent exchanges between French and Inuit. Some individuals, like Courtemanche, Jolliet and Fornel, were able to trade with the Inuit (Stopp 2002:76-84, Table 1). With the end of the Seven Years' War in 1763, came the Treaty of Paris which required the French to give up their possession of Labrador.

2.2.7 The English/Anglo-Irish

The English presence in Newfoundland and Labrador was initially based primarily on the Avalon Peninsula. The English did not gain territory in Labrador until the Treaty of Paris in 1763 when the French gave up their rights to Labrador and Canada (Janzen 2008:68). Labrador soon came under the control of the governor of Newfoundland, Sir Hugh Palliser. Palliser (Governor of Newfoundland from 1764-1768) wanted to ensure that British commerce in Labrador, both trading and the migratory fishery, would grow and, therefore, sought to curtail the violent interactions with the Inuit. However, violent interactions between the Inuit and Newfoundland and New England fishing crews were more frequent than violent interactions between the Inuit and the French (Mitchell in press). Over the next several years Palliser implemented several policies in an attempt to decrease the violence in southern Labrador. This included drafting policies that

addressed the need for peaceful interactions with the Inuit and discouraging the Inuit from travelling into southern Labrador (Janzen 2008:69; Mitchell in press). Part of Palliser's policy included allowing Moravian missionaries to establish a mission first at Nain in 1771, followed by one at Okak and Hopedale in 1776 and 1782 respectively, in the hopes that the Inuit would trade at the missions and, therefore, decrease the need to travel to southern Labrador (Janzen 2008:69). English entrepreneurs began to settle along the coast, one of the most famous being the trader Captain George Cartwright who left behind journals detailing his experiences in Labrador (Stopp 2008).

There was also by now an English and Anglo-Irish presence along the Petit Nord. While the French presence on the Petit Nord was almost constant from the sixteenth century until 1904, there were periods during the Seven Years' War (1756-1763), the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars (1789-1815) where the French were not present (Janzen 2008:68,70). During this period British settlers and fishermen began to setlle along the French shore (Hiller 2001). A ceramic vessel that depicts Admiral Lord Nelson was found at the French fishing room of Champ Paya (Dos de Cheval, EfAx-09) which confirms an English presence on the Petit Nord c1815 (St. John 2011:24). At the end of these wars, the French returned and asserted their rights to the area. They did not allow ships from Newfoundland to fish in their waters, sending them to fish off the coasts of Labrador (Hiller 2001). They did, however, allow some settlers to remain. These Anglo-Irish families, called *gardiens*, became caretakers who guarded French fishing rooms during the winter months (Hiller 2001; Jones 2009). The presence of the *gardiens* was intended to deter the Inuit and others from scavenging the abandoned fishing rooms. This Irish presence grew along the coast over the years. Following the *Entente Cordial* of

1904, these families remained and established the communities found along the Great Northern Peninsula today.

2.2.8 Other Groups

While the Basque, French and British had the largest presence and most influence in the study area, other Europeans were present in the study area. The discussion of these groups is limited here due to the groups' transient nature (the Dutch or Americans), and that the majority of their activities took place outside of the study area (the Moravian missionaries).

The Dutch were present along the Labrador Coast by the seventeenth century. Dutch traders travelled the length of the coast to trade with the Inuit. These ventures were highly variable. They did not return with any regularity nor did they always frequent the same areas (Kaplan 1983:161-164, 1985:55). While the Dutch traded along the coast, the majority of the European presence was centered in the south and, therefore, most of the European goods entered Aboriginal societies through the southern trade routes (Fitzhugh 1985:32).

American vessels were a regular presence along the coast. Prowse believes that they were frequenting the Labrador coast prior to 1794 and perhaps as early as the 1760s (Prowse 2002:597). These voyages often combined fishing, whaling and fur trading. By the early nineteenth century these voyages were very common and the Americans working in the area outnumbered the English (Prowse 2002:597). The American presence was quite disruptive to both the Inuit and the English along the coast. Several of Palliser's edicts were directed towards the American vessels (pers. comm. Stopp 2013).

However, this presence was, like the Dutch, fleeting and did not seem to develop into anything more regular. Violent interactions between the English and Native Americans were common in New England. The New England crews' familiarity with violence towards Native American likely influenced their interactions with the Inuit of Labrador (Mitchell in press). Because of their violence towards the Inuit, the Americans were considered to be a nuisance by the British and were considered to be lawless and troublesome (Prowse 2002:597). They also threatened the dominance of the British merchants as they offered goods to the Canadian and British crews at lower prices than the British merchants (pers. comm. Stopp).

A more stable presence in Labrador was that of the Moravian Missionaries. The Moravian Church placed a large emphasis on missionary work, particularly in places where other missionaries would not go (Cabak 1991:46-47; Rollmann 2009). Governor Palliser allowed the Moravians to establish a mission in 1771 at Nain in northern Labrador (Rollmann 2009). The Moravian missions included stores where the Inuit could trade. Palliser hoped that if the Inuit could trade at the missions that they would not travel to southern Labrador and that this would create a more peaceful and stable atmosphere in the south. The Moravians expanded their missionary efforts with missions at Okak and Hopedale in the eighteenth century and with several more in the nineteenth. Although the Moravians were intent upon converting the Inuit to Christianity, they did not wish to alter their traditional lifeways or force European culture upon them. They wanted the Inuit to remain self-sufficient and not confuse Christianity with European culture (Cabak 1991:49; Cabak and Loring 2000:6). The full history and impact of the Moravian church on the Inuit is outside of the scope of this study, but it is important to note that the

Moravian presence in northern Labrador altered interactions in the study region to the south.

2.3 Conclusions

Cultural interactions in southern Labrador and the Great Northern Peninsula of Newfoundland were highly variable. This changeability is partially due to the shifting dynamics of European economics and politics, and the large number of cultural groups present in the area. The study area was highly valued for its commercial possibilities and became a contested region, particularly between the British and the French in the eighteenth century. While the European presence was important every summer, the period during the year when they were absent was also important as it allowed the Aboriginal groups easy access to European items that were left behind without the need for face to face interactions. These different groups and the relationships that formed, or didn't form, will be explored in the following chapters.

Chapter 3: Ethnohistorical Research

This work is not an attempt to provide a comprehensive or complete account of the ethnohistory of Newfoundland and Labrador, or even of the study area itself. The purpose of this study is to use ethnohistory to trace the shifting nature of the relationships between Europeans and Aboriginals in the study area. It would be impossible to attempt to explore all of the complexities of these interactions in the space available here. Instead, I have tried to take snapshots, if you will, of key periods during the process of contact. This snapshot approach will provide us with a picture of European-Aboriginal interactions and allow us to see shifting patterns that may exist.

Previous ethnohistorical research has focused on specific groups and their relationships throughout the contact period (e.g. Martijn 2009). Unfortunately, by focusing on one specific cultural group (most often Aboriginal) and their interactions with Europeans, some of the complexity of culture contact is lost.

Early records from both explorers and fishermen alike are somewhat vague on details. Descriptions of people and places encountered are often unclear, making exact identifications of the peoples involved and the locations of these interactions difficult to determine. These ambiguities have led to debates about where these explorers were and who they encountered (Quinn 1981; Martijn et al. 2003). There are also large gaps in the documentary record. It is difficult, therefore, to fully examine a large span of time.

3.1 Ethnohistorical Research in Newfoundland and Labrador

While theories about culture contact and ethnohistory can be applied to many situations, culture contact itself is regionally and situationally specific. Contact in

Newfoundland and Labrador was quite different from contact in much of colonial North America. Europeans here did not attempt to establish permanent villages like the French did along the St. Lawrence River. For the first century or so of Newfoundland and Labrador's European history, there was no permanent European presence. Instead, European presence was almost exclusively seasonal. This remained true for centuries along the Petit Nord, where the only European presence along the coast was the migratory fishery. Typical European colonial positions, such as Indian agents, missionaries and fur traders, were also absent from the island. Europeans who occupied these colonial positions were often charged with forging relationships with the local Aboriginal populations. It has been claimed that the lack of these colonial positions on the island of Newfoundland was a contributing factor to the extinction of the Beothuk as important relationships between the Beothuk and the Europeans were never formed (Marshall 1996:73-75; Pastore 1992:56).

Ethnohistorical research in Newfoundland and Labrador began with the creation of a list that simply identified groups and locations of contact in many key primary resources (Quinn 1981). Quinn's work was an important first step as he attempted to identify which Aboriginal groups were being mentioned in documents. Identifying these groups helped to trace early encounters and movements of Aboriginal groups. One of the major contributors to ethnohistory in Newfoundland has been Charles Martijn. Martijn has looked at the presence and influences of both the Inuit and Innu on the Island of Newfoundland (Martijn 1990, 2009; Martijn and Dorais 2001). Martijn's work draws upon linguistic studies, maps, and other historical documents to trace the presence of the Innu and Inuit in an area that is not considered to be part of their traditional territory. The

Beothuk have been studied quite extensively by Howley (1915) and Speck (1922) in the early twentieth century and later by Pastore (1989, 1992) and Marshall (1996).

3.2 Ethnohistorical Research Methodology

In order to examine the cultural changes and adjustments inherent in culture contact, scholars have studied culture contact in different ways. Cusick identifies the concepts of *directed* vs. *non-directed* contact and *conflict based* vs. *non-conflict based interactions* (Cusick 1998). Direct contact involves the dominance or control of one of the groups over the other, while non-directed contact has no dominant or controlling faction (Cusick 1998:6). He sees cultural conflict as the product of a conflict of interests between the groups, and this conflict is not necessarily rooted in the cultural differences between the groups (Cusick 1998:6). In the same volume, *Studies in Culture Contact: Interaction, Culture Change, and Archaeology*, Alexander expands upon these ideas and classified interactions on a continuum using the terms *colonization*, *cultural entanglement* and *symmetrical exchange* (Alexander 1998:482). *Colonization*, or "asymmetrical interaction", includes interactions where the power is unbalanced (Alexander 1998; Ferris 2009:26-27). *Entanglement* is defined as "a processes whereby interaction...gradually results in change of indigenous patterns of production, exchange, and social relations" (Alexander 1998:485). Finally, *symmetrical exchange* is defined as the development of "networks of interdependency...in which power differentials between exchange partners is not evident" (Alexander 1998:486).

Synthesizing the ideas presented by Cusick and Alexander, as well as the research of Bruce Trigger, I propose a similar system to describe and classify culture contact in the

study area (Alexander 1998; Cusick 1998; Trigger 1985). While the above systems are an excellent classification scheme, they fail to account for the multi-dimensional aspect of contact. They also tend to focus on the power inherent in the encounters and not on the decisions being made by the groups involved in contact, although in some cases the power balance in the contact situation does limit what choices a groups can make. In addition to the ideas of power relations presented by Cusick and Alexander, I will examine culture contact by classifying it under three categories, which will allow for a more holistic examination of culture contact. These categories consist of three sets of intersecting ideas: *intermittent* vs. *ongoing* contact; *direct* vs. *indirect* contact; and *cooperative* vs. *confrontational* contact. These pairs are not mutually exclusive and most contact events could be classified under more than one category. Contact is, essentially, an ongoing negotiation between two groups and is therefore constantly shifting and evolving. This changeability makes cultural interactions difficult to classify. To classify the relationship between two groups solely under one heading gives the false impression that it is one dimensional.

The first pair, *intermittent* vs. *ongoing* contact, addresses the duration of the contact. Intermittent contact occurs sporadically where no pattern of contact develops, as opposed to ongoing contact, in which a pattern of contact does develop. Contact can begin as intermittent, and, over time, it can develop into a pattern and therefore be classified as ongoing. However, relationships can also break down and contact might revert to intermittent.

The second category is *direct* vs. *indirect* contact. Direct contact between two groups requires visual contact. This does not need to be a face-to-face or physical

encounter; it could simply be spotting the group from afar. There are two different forms of indirect contact. The first is when one group receives goods from another group without any sort of visual interaction. This can be achieved through actions like middle-men trading or scavenging an unoccupied site. So while no contact is made, there is still some form of indirect interaction. The second form of indirect contact is the act of avoidance. The act of avoiding contact can be seen as a way of mitigating the perceived effects of contact. If a group has actively made a choice to avoid contact with another group, then this must be taken into account. This non-event, is actually a form of contact (Fogelson 1989). The Beothuk practiced avoidance of the different European groups on the Island of Newfoundland.

The third category is *cooperative* vs. *confrontational* contact. Cooperative contact includes peaceful trade or the sharing of information. Confrontational contact includes any encounter that can be construed as negative. It does not necessarily need to include violence, although this often occurred, and could simply include acts like scavenging items from seasonally abandoned sites. The idea of scavenging as a confrontational activity is complex as the idea of ownership is a cultural construct. The Europeans viewed the structures they left behind, and the iron nails they contained, as their property, and, therefore, the destruction of these structures and the scavenging of the nails were seen as vandalism and theft. However, the Aboriginals likely viewed the structures as abandoned and, therefore, the iron was simply another resource to be gathered. Dwyer suggests that utlizing European iron was an expression of Beothuk agency and that this enabled them to "access the European world on their own terms and in their own way" (Dwyer 2012:20). However, as the act of scavenging nails from European sites often

created animosity between groups, if not outright violence, it will be addressed as confrontational contact.

My sources for ethnohistorical research are twofold. The first are published sources of primary documents. Due to the wide time period covered and the large amount of archival research that has been previously conducted in the study area, I felt that conducting my own archival research was not feasible. The second group of sources are scholarly research. As some of archival materials are not published, I have relied heavily on the works of scholars, like Selma Barkham who did research in the Basque country, who have conducted extensive archival research. I also had the privilege of examining Charles Martijn's archive of documents and his personal notes, which have been donated to the Centre for Newfoundland Studies. Some of this research was published in his 2009 article, "Historic Inuit Presence in Northern Newfoundland, circa 1550-1800 CE." In addition to these sources, I will examine the archaeological evidence, which will be expanded upon in the following chapters.

3.3 Ethnohistory of Southern Labrador and the Great Northern Peninsula

3.3.1 c.1000 – c. 1350

The Viking Age was a period of exploration and expansion by the Norse in the late tenth and early eleventh centuries. The popularized notion of the Vikings as a pillaging, raiding, pirate society is not a complete description of the explorers and farmers who interacted with the Aboriginals of North America. The Norse who travelled to North America might have engaged in pillaging at one point or another, but their voyages into

North America were focused on exploration and finding new sources of natural resources (Wallace 2003:5).

Evidence for contact between Aboriginals and the Norse is slim. The majority of the evidence can be found in two separate accounts, *The Vinland Sagas*, which were written during the thirteenth century in Iceland. The Aboriginal groups mentioned in the sagas are known only as the *skraelings*, a term that does not distinguish between different Aboriginal groups. The sagas seemed to serve many purposes. In fact, Baitsholts claims that the descriptions of the encounters with Aboriginals of North America were written with humour to add entertainment value to the sagas (Baitsholts 2000:365). However, it is also possible that these descriptions were used to reinforce the superiority of the Norse and the perceived foolishness of the Natives.

The *Vinland Sagas* describe the Norse explorations of North America from the newly established colony at Greenland. While Greenland was not inhabited by Aboriginal groups at this time, the Norse had developed a trading relationship with the Natives of Scandinavia, the Sámi (McAleese 2000:354). The Sámi had a similar lifestyle to the *skraelings* whom the Norse would encounter later. This trading relationship was very successful and likely influenced later trading encounters in North America (McAleese 2000:355).

Archaeological research in the Arctic has shed new light on Norse and Aboriginal interactions in the Baffin Island Region. New research by Patricia Sutherland in the High Arctic has revealed evidence of possible contact between the Dorset and the Norse. Artifacts from Dorset settlements in northern Labrador include whetstones, European-like images, worked wood and cordage spun out of animal hair (Stopp 2011; Sutherland 2000,

2009). Strands of the cordage matches strands from textiles found at Norse settlements in Greenland (Stopp 2011:7). If this cordage is indeed Norse in origin it would strongly suggest that contact occurred between the Norse and the Dorset. The question then remains if this contact was direct or indirect.

Further south, the Norse encountered different Aboriginal groups. According to the sagas, the Norse spent the majority of their time in North America at L'Anse aux Meadows, as this was their home base. The sagas do not mention any contact with Aboriginal groups at L'Anse aux Meadows. Archaeologically there were Aboriginal occupations at L'Anse aux Meadows; however, research shows that they were not concurrent with the Norse occupation (Wallace 2000b:230). It stands to reason that if the Aboriginal populations occupied this site before and after the Norse presence, then this site might have been part of their seasonal round. If this is the case, then it could be suggested that they purposefully avoided L'Anse aux Meadows while the Norse were there. However, with the sagas, as with many cases of early contact, it is easy to speculate about unknowns (Fitzhugh 1985:38).

Both saga accounts depict the death of Thorvald Eriksson at the hand of an Aboriginal man. In the *Greenlanders Saga*, Eriksson's death is an act of retaliation. The Norse headed north from their encampment, called Leif's booth, where they spotted three hills that were in fact hide canoes with nine men sleeping underneath them (Kunz 2001:642). The Norse captured all but one of the Aboriginal men and killed them. This event likely happened along the south central coast of Labrador (McAleese 2000:357-358). If it was along the Labrador coast, then the Norse would have been in contact with the people of the Point Revenge prehistoric complex or the Dorset. Although the Point

Revenge people used bark and not hide canoes, the Norse might have confused the two materials (McAlesse 2000:357-358; McGhee 1984:10). Later the Norse were attacked by a group in the same kind of skin boats. Someone from the group shot and killed Thorvald with an arrow.

After a few years the Norse returned to Leif's booth. The Aborginals approached the Norse and attempted to trade their furs for weapons but Thorfinn Karlsefni would not trade them weapons and they ended up trading for milk products (McGhee 1984:10). The unwillingness of the Norse to trade weapons suggests a certain degree of wariness towards the *skraelings*, which is not surprising considering they were outnumbered by the Aboriginal groups they encountered and away from home (Sutherland 2000:240). The next winter the Aboriginals returned to trade again. The Norse brought out the goods that they had traded last time. While I would not go so far as to say that the contact had become ongoing, a pattern of contact was beginning to develop. However, this encounter turned violent when an Aboriginal man was killed when he tried to grab a Norse weapon (McGhee 1994:10). The violence escalated and both Aboriginals and Norse died. This was the end of the interactions. The Norse stayed for the rest of the winter and then returned to Greenland. This set of interactions was, again, direct contact. However, the lack of a trade language or understanding caused the interactions to shift from cooperative to confrontational. McAleese contends that in order for a mutually beneficial relationship to develop between groups, some form of communication must exist, be it verbal or otherwise (McAleese 2000:355). The contacts between the two groups did not allow for a form of communication to develop (McAleese 2000:355).

In *Erik's Saga,* Thorvald Karlsefni was killed by Aboriginals. In this saga, he is killed by a one legged man. The significance of the one legged man is unclear. This event occurred north of Straumsfjord and was therefore in Labrador, so the killer was likely Dorset or an ancestor of the Innu. After this, the Norse avoided this area. In this instance the Norse, instead of the Aboriginals, practiced a policy of active avoidance. The last interaction between the two groups was in Markland, which Sutherland classifies as the central and southern coasts of Labrador (Sutherland 2009). The Norse kidnapped two boys along the coast and integrated them into their society.

The Norse abandoned their settlement at L'Anse aux Meadows and their exploration of North America after a decade. Some claim that this was due to their violent encounter with the Natives (McAleese 2000:354, McGhee 1984:23). Others claim that they left because they did not have the infrastructure in Greenland to support the colony in North America (Wallace 2000b:226, 2003:31-32). They had to make trips back to Norway to maintain contacts there and they did not have the people or shipping power to make trips to both Norway and North America. Their trading experiences in Norway were peaceful when compared to their interactions in Vinland (Wallace 2003:32). Therefore, the decision to abandon Vinland seems to have been obvious. The Norse did not seem to have a lasting impact on the Aboriginal groups in the area as the interactions were not prolonged enough to change any cultural patterns among the Aboriginal groups.

Following their abandonment of L'Anse Aux Meadows the Norse continued to travel to Labrador for timber, but there was no attempt to establish another North American colony (Finn 1970:51). The exact date of the arrival of the Thule/Inuit in the

eastern arctic is debated, with the earliest possible date being around AD 1250 (McGhee 2009; Stopp 2011:5). Norse written sources describe two periods of contacts with the *skraelings* in Greenland, one before AD 1200 – possibly with the Dorset, and one after AD 1300 – possibly the newly arrived Thule/Inuit (Gulløv 2000:324). Aside from the written sources evidence for possible Norse/Thule/Inuit interactions comes from the archaeological evidence. Artifacts found at Thule sites include bronze vessels fragments, an iron tipped bone awl, knife blades, wooden and ivory figurines and smelted iron (Stopp 2011:11). The smelted iron is important as the Thule/Inuit did not use smelting to modify iron suggesting that this metal was obtained from Europeans. Several wooden figures were found at Thule/Inuit sites that seem to depict Europeans. One particularly well known figure, known as the Bishop of Baffin, shows a figure wearing a robe or tunic with a cross incised on its chest. This has led some to suggest that the Thule/Inuit encountered a priest, missionary or a Teutonic knight (Sutherland 2000:239).

While there does not seem to be any doubt that there was contact between the Norse and the Thule/Inuit the type and duration of the contact is unknown. Three possible scenarios have been proposed for contact in the Canadian High Arctic. The first is direct contact, goods were obtained through trade. The second is indirect contact, where goods were scavenged from Norse shipwrecks, and lastly that the goods were obtained in Greenland and then traded by the Inuit (Stopp 2011:5-6). Some of these encounters were undoubtedly violent as the Norse make reference to the *skraelings* bleeding (Stopp 2011). These early contacts would have prepared the Thule/Inuit for future interactions with Europeans as they travelled south along the Labrador Coast.

The interactions between the Norse and Aboriginal groups before around AD 1400 were sporadic and seem to be mostly confrontational, particularly farther south in Vinland. This hostility might have to do with the wariness of the Norse, as they were far from home and were outnumbered. The Aboriginals in the area seem to have wanted some sort of trading relationship, as they instigated contact that involved trade. It seems that the *skraelings* were leaning towards a cooperative interactions but a lack of communication and misunderstandings quickly led to violence. While some of the events happened in close succession, the overall pattern of Norse-Aboriginal contact was intermittent as no pattern of contact or purposeful contact occurred.

3.3.2 c. 1400 - 1500

This period is not represented in archival documents, but rather with the archaeological evidence of the precontact period and interactions between Aboriginal groups.[6] The evidence provided by the archaeological evidence of precontact cultural interactions would prove to be an important factor in the relationships that developed during the historic period and, therefore, are included with the ethnohistorical data. While the Thule/Inuit were not in southern Labrador or the Great Northern Peninsula at this time, ca. AD 1400, interactions outside of the study area would prove to be influential.

[6] While some of the interactions described between the Thule/Inuit and the Norse described in the previous section might have occurred in the time bracket discussed here, it was decided to include those interactions with the rest of the Norse interactions.

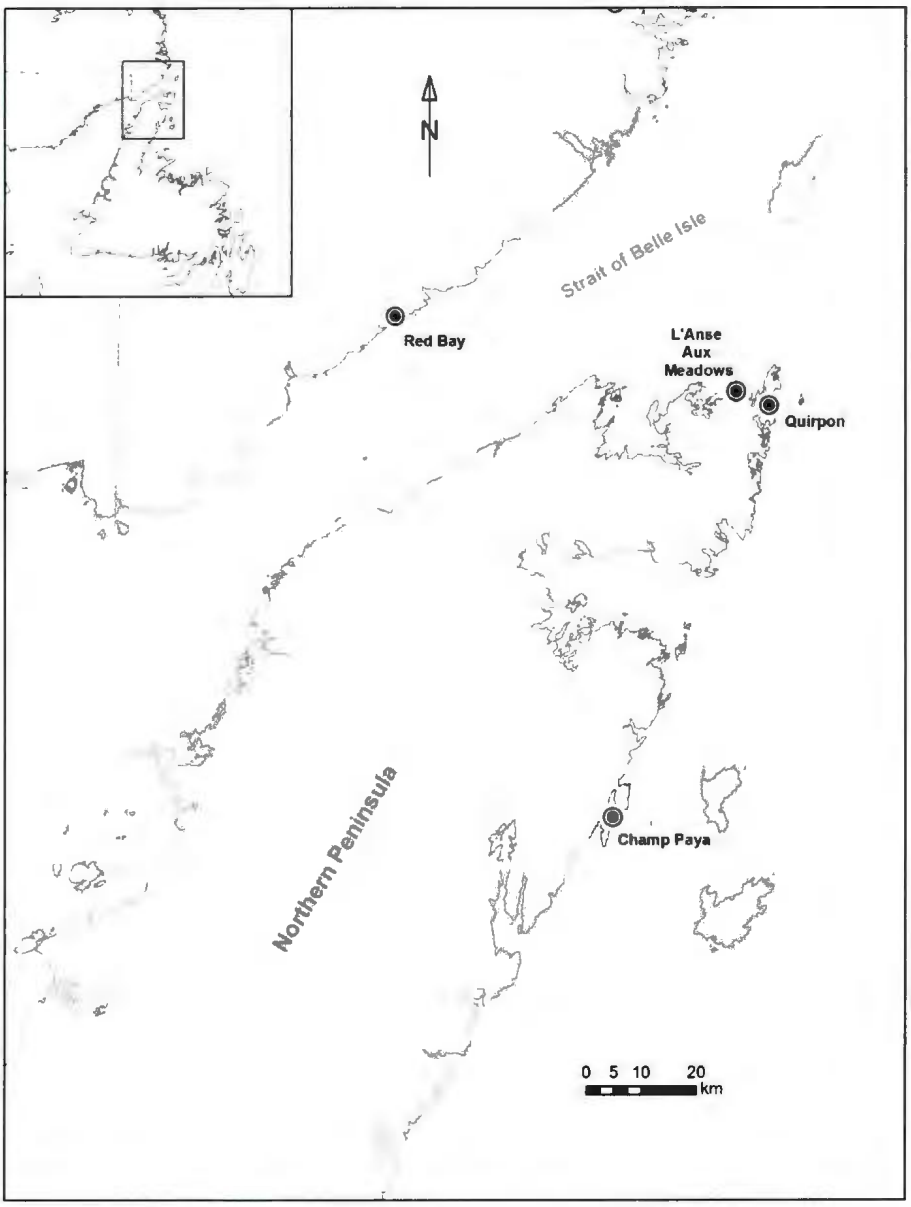


Figure 3.1 Locations of Red Bay, L'Anse aux Meadows, Quirpon and Champ Pay (Bryn Tapper for An Archaeology of the Petit Nord).

Cultural interactions occurred among Amerindian, Paleoeskimo (Dorset) and Neoeskimo (Thule/Inuit) groups. Loring recognizes the difficulties of defining ethnicity in archaeological terms, but suggests that it can be defined as "the social processes that define group identity and that facilitate access to territory and resources" (Loring 1992:28-29; also see Pace 2008:12-13). If one follows this logic, then the social identities of prehistoric groups can be defined by their geographical location and the material culture that they used to exploit the resources that location had to offer. If this is the case, the need to differentiate oneself from other groups should be particularly evident at the margins of a group's territory (Loring 1992:53). In Labrador, the Innu and Inuit are two distinct peoples and this lack of mixing in the archaeological assemblages has led some scholars to suggest that if contact did occur, it was not sustained enough to force either group to make changes that could be detected archaeologically (Loring 1992:46). This explanation seems too simplistic to describe two highly mobile hunter-gather groups who occupied similar territories at the same time. If the Thule were encroaching into Innu territory, it is possible that the Innu actively sought to maintain their identity, ensuring that their archaeological assemblages remained distinct. The Innu might have shifted their territory in order to avoid contact, which would explain a lack of contact and the distinct archaeological assemblages.

While arguments for contacts, migrations and extinctions of peoples can be made throughout prehistory, for the purposes of this study, this will only include the archaeological cultures that are believed to be the direct ancestors of the cultural groups of the historical contact period. Thus, this study begins with the migration of the Thule/Inuit into Labrador. The Thule began to migrate down the northern Labrador coast

by the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century (Ramsden and Rankin in press). At this period, Labrador was occupied by the Dorset Eskimo group in the North and Recent Indians in the south (Fitzhugh 1977:31). Shortly after the arrival of the Thule, the archaeological signature of the Dorset disappeared (Fitzhugh 1977:19, 31; Ramsden and Rankin in press; Rankin 2008:14-16, in press). The Thule and the Dorset exploited the same resources and, therefore, competition for these resources was inevitable as the Thule moved down the coast. It is unclear if the Thule simply out-competed the Dorset, engaged in warfare with them or simply amalgamated the Dorset culture into their own (Fitzhugh 1977:19). Inuit legends include a mythical people that they called the Tunits, which scholars believe refer to their encounters with the Dorset (Fitzhugh 1977:32; Kaplan 1985:48). It could be inferred from this legend that the Dorset and Thule were in direct contact during this period and that the Dorset did not simply fade conveniently into obscurity.[7]

Archaeological and early archival evidence shows that the Thule/Inuit continued to move rapidly down the coast reaching as far south as Sandwich Bay and St. Michael's Bay by the late sixteenth century (Ranking 2010, in press; Stopp 2002:80, pers. comm. 2012). By the early 1600s the Inuit were settled in the southernmost Strait of Belle Isle (Stopp 2002:80). As they moved down the coast, they undoubtedly came into contact with the Amerindian Point Revenge culture. This group had an interior-maritime adaptation and spent the majority of their summers along the coast (Fitzhugh 1977:14). As the Thule/ moved in, the Point Revenge culture seems to have retreated into the interior and farther south, shifting their procurement strategies into the interior-based

[7] For a different view on the possibility of Dorset and Thule/Inuit interactions see Park 1993.

caribou hunt that they practiced when the Europeans arrived (Armitage 1991; Fitzhugh 1977; Loring 1992). Like the Dorset, the Point Revenge/Innu shifted their territories to avoid the Thule/Inuit. Innu oral histories and historical documents describe conflicts between the Innu and the Thule/Inuit (Jordan 1977:45, Mailhot 1997:7). This animosity likely continued into contact period.

The Thule/Inuit had a long history of territorial mobility and, therefore, their shift into southern Labrador should not be viewed as merely a response to the arrival of the Europeans. A pattern of migration to gain access to new resources was clearly established by their movements into Labrador and down the coast. Any additional forays would need to have an economic gain that would outweigh any loss of time to engage in traditional resource exploitation. Stopp contends that any movements into southern Labrador would have to fit into the Inuit's already established seasonal round (Stopp 2002:97).

3.3.3 c. 1550-1600

European vessels began to visit the Strait of Belle Isle in increasing numbers following John Cabot's rediscovery of Newfoundland and Labrador in 1497. Cabot returned to Europe with tales of fish so abundant that one could simply put a basket down into the water and catch all that one could ever want. It was this abundance of marine resources that attracted first European fishers, and later whalers, to the coasts of southern Labrador and the Great Northern Peninsula. These voyages were major undertakings and required large crews to process the catch. Such a large presence would not go unnoticed by the Aboriginal populations of the area.

During this period there were two major European groups in the study area: the Spanish Basques in the Strait of Belle Isle from 1540-1580 and the French along the Petit Nord beginning in 1504 and continuing into the early twentieth century (Barkham 1980, 1984; Burns 2008; St. John 2011). The majority of the French groups fishing along the Petit Nord were of Breton or Norman origin with some French Basques. Crews were well established in Cap Rouge Harbour (the location of Champ Paya which will be discussed in detail in the following chapter) by 1541, when Jacques Cartier passed through (Pope 2008:38) (Figure 3.1). The Basque whalers held a whaling monopoly along the northern shore of the Strait of Belle Isle, although Breton fishers were also active in the area (Barkham 1980, 1984). The northern shore of the Strait had excellent bays and harbours while the southern shore was very flat and open. Contact along the southern shore in the early period was uncommon, and was limited to the Quirpon area, as Europeans preferred the north shore (Figure 3.1). The Basque presence along the Strait was focused on both whaling and cod fishing. References to Basque whaling crews began to appear in 1536 (Barkham 1984:516). During the mid sixteenth century, trips began to be specialized focusing on either cod fishing or whaling. Following 1580, whaling appears to have become less profitable and crews had to practice fishing, whaling and sometimes fur trading in order to make trips economically viable. This later period also saw a steep decline in the number of ships being outfitted (Turgeon 1997:9, 1998:593).

The documentary record for the early migratory whale and cod fishery is thin. References to encounters with Aboriginals are rare and most are vague at best. These Europeans were new to the area and were unfamiliar with the people they encountered. Descriptions of European and Aboriginal encounters in the late fifteenth and early

sixteenth century were hampered by a lack of meaningful interactions between the two groups and poor communication (Quinn 1981:1). Although some communication had developed, it was very limited and did not facilitate anything beyond basic trading. By the 1530s (commentaries on the source disagree about the year that this occurred) a testimony from Robert Lefant indicates that trade had developed with an Aboriginal population, which Quinn believes to have been Innu, and that the Innu could speak French, Gascon and English (Biggar 1930:449-454; Quinn 1981:25). Barkham suggests that the Basque were "thoroughly impressed by the intelligence of the 'Yndios.'" (2001:111). The adoption of some European words indicates that by the 1530s the Innu had had sufficient contact with Europeans to understand and use these words when interacting with Europeans. The development of a pidgin langue suggests direct and cooperative contact between the Innu and the Basques (Bakker 1988; Dorais 1996). Later in that same passage, Lefant describes the people of the Grand Bay (the Strait of Belle Isle) as being "a more kindly people" than other groups who were "fierce and valiant" (Biggar 1930:456). The other group, likely those living along Quebec's Lower North Shore, armed themselves with bows and arrows. The fact that the Innu in the Strait did not present their weapons to the Europeans suggests that there was an air of trust and understanding between the groups. These testimonies suggest that between 1537 and 1542 the Aboriginals in the Strait of Belle Isle and the Basques co-existed peacefully (Barkham 1980:53).

While the earlier documents indicate that an informal trading relationship was established with the Innu, this soon developed into a formalized and structured relationship. By the late 1500s and early 1600s, documentary evidence shows that the

Innu were actually working with the Basques. They worked alongside the Basques, helping to butcher and render the fat from the whales, as well as curing and drying the fish (Barkham 1980:54). In addition to becoming part of the Basque workforce, the Innu warned the Basques of possible Inuit attacks (Barkham 1980). This suggests that the Innu wanted to protect the Basques and thereby their own source of European goods from the perceived threat of the Inuit. The Inuit did occasionally attack the Basques with bow and arrows, although reasons for these attacks and the circumstances surrounding them are unclear (Barkham 1980). There seems to be only one documentary source that directly portrays an attack by the Inuit, the location of this attack is unknown (Barkham 1980:54). I would suggest that attacks against the Basques would have been rare. The Basque presence during the fishing season was large. These were not small ventures but large undertakings, employing hundreds of men. The ships were also well armed with at least four iron canons and eight swivel guns. In addition, each crew member carried an harquebus (Proulx 2007b:50). The number of men and high level of weaponry were likely a deterrent against attacks. It is possible that the Innu exaggerated the Inuit threat to the Basques to discourage any trading from developing between the Basques and their traditional enemy, the Inuit.

The *Desceliers* map of 1546 is an interesting artifact, which illustrates the difficulties of determining cultural affiliations in early ethnohistoric research. In addition to other figures, this map depicts a crew of four men in a small boat hunting a whale-like fish in the Strait of Belle Isle. Over the years, these figures have been interpreted as four different cultural groups (Martijn et al. 2003). One interpretation is Barkham's which posits that the group is Basque whalers. Barkham does admit that there is a small

possibility that one of the whalers depicted is Innu, but there is no documentary evidence to support the idea that the Innu helped with the actual hunt (Martijn et al. 2003:194-195). The possibility that the relationship had advanced far enough for the Basques to take the time to train the Innu in their hunting techniques is an interesting idea; however, as mentioned above, there is no concrete evidence to support this.

Across the Strait in Newfoundland, the French were present along the Petit Nord early in the sixteenth century. Compared with the documentation about contact in the Straight of Belle Isle during the sixteenth century, there is very little information regarding Aboriginal contact in the Great Northern Peninsula. The first known image of the Inuit appeared in a woodcut in Germany in 1566. This image depicted a mother and a child who were captured in what was likely northern Newfoundland or southern Labrador (Quinn 1981; Sturtevant 1980). The poster describes an interaction in which an Inuit man was murdered before his wife and child were captured and taken back to Europe.

The first documented interaction on the Great Northern Peninsula dates to 1588. By the late sixteenth century the Inuit were frequenting the Quirpon area, located at the northern tip of the Great Northern Peninsula (Figure 3.1). A group of Inuit were camping at Quirpon when a French vessel came to trade with them. One of the sailors was startled during the night and, fearing a surprise attack by the Inuit, the sailor shot into the darkness and killed the wife of the Inuit headman (Martijn 2009:72). This incident illustrates two things. First that the by the late sixteenth century the Inuit were coming to the Great Northern Peninsula to trade with the Europeans. Secondly, that the Europeans were fearful of Inuit surprise attacks which suggests that trade was not normalized and that violence between the groups was a common occurrence.

By the end of the sixteenth century, the Innu had ongoing and direct contact with the Basques. This relationship was cooperative and seems to have been symmetrical. The relationship was based on exchange and did not seem to be based on power structures. The Inuit on the other hand had a very different relationship. While some of this could be construed as cooperative, the relationships between the Europeans (Basque and French) and the Inuit was tense and could become confrontational at the slightest misstep. It is possible that the cooperative relationship between the Innu, who traditionally did not interact positively with the Inuit, and the Europeans exacerbated animosities between the Europeans and the Inuit. If the Europeans were friendly with the Innu then it would seem likely that the Inuit would be wary of them. Conversely, the wariness of the Innu towards the Inuit would have influenced European actions and attitudes towards the Inuit. The Inuit also have a history of violence towards the both the Dorset and the Norse suggesting that they might have simply approached contact aggressively.

Historical records indicate that Basque cod-fishing crews were more numerous and more widespread than their whaling counterparts (Loewen and Delmas 2012:214). However, due in part to the labour-intensive nature of whaling, the duration of the whaling season was longer than the cod-fishing season. The duration of the whalers stay might have allowed them to observe the Aboriginal groups and interact on a more consistent basis. However, due to the sparse ethnohistoric record for this period much of these theories are speculative. Fitzhugh notes that "discussion of contacts and the effects of contacts on native peoples is short on facts and long on guesswork" (Fitzhugh 1985:38).

3.3.4 c. 1650-1675

During the late sixteenth century, the Basque whaling presence in Labrador diminished and had all but stopped by the 1620s. The French cod fishery along the north shore of the Strait of Belle Isle also declined rapidly, possibly due to violent encounters with the Inuit (de La Morandiere 1962:273). Inuit settlement had started to shift further southwards during this period. The largest Inuit settlements were now located along the central Labrador coast, particularly the Hamilton Inlet region (Figure 3.2) (Kaplan 1985:59).

The documentary record from this period is slim. European merchants were still focussed on exploiting the marine resources of Newfoundland and Labrador. This meant that unlike other areas of Canada, the goal in Newfoundland and Labrador was not to exploit the land and the knowledge and skills of the Aboriginal peoples was not essential to the success of these ventures. The Europeans who came to Newfoundland and Labrador were seasoned fishermen and did not need help to exploit this resource. Europeans did not over-winter, which means that there was less opportunity for sustained contact. After 1600, some settlers, predominately English, started to stay behind at the end of the season to protect fishing installations from the damage caused by Inuit and Beothuk scavenging, but this seems to have been more prevalent in the southern Trinity Bay and Notre Dame Bay where the Beothuk resided (Pope 2004:75).

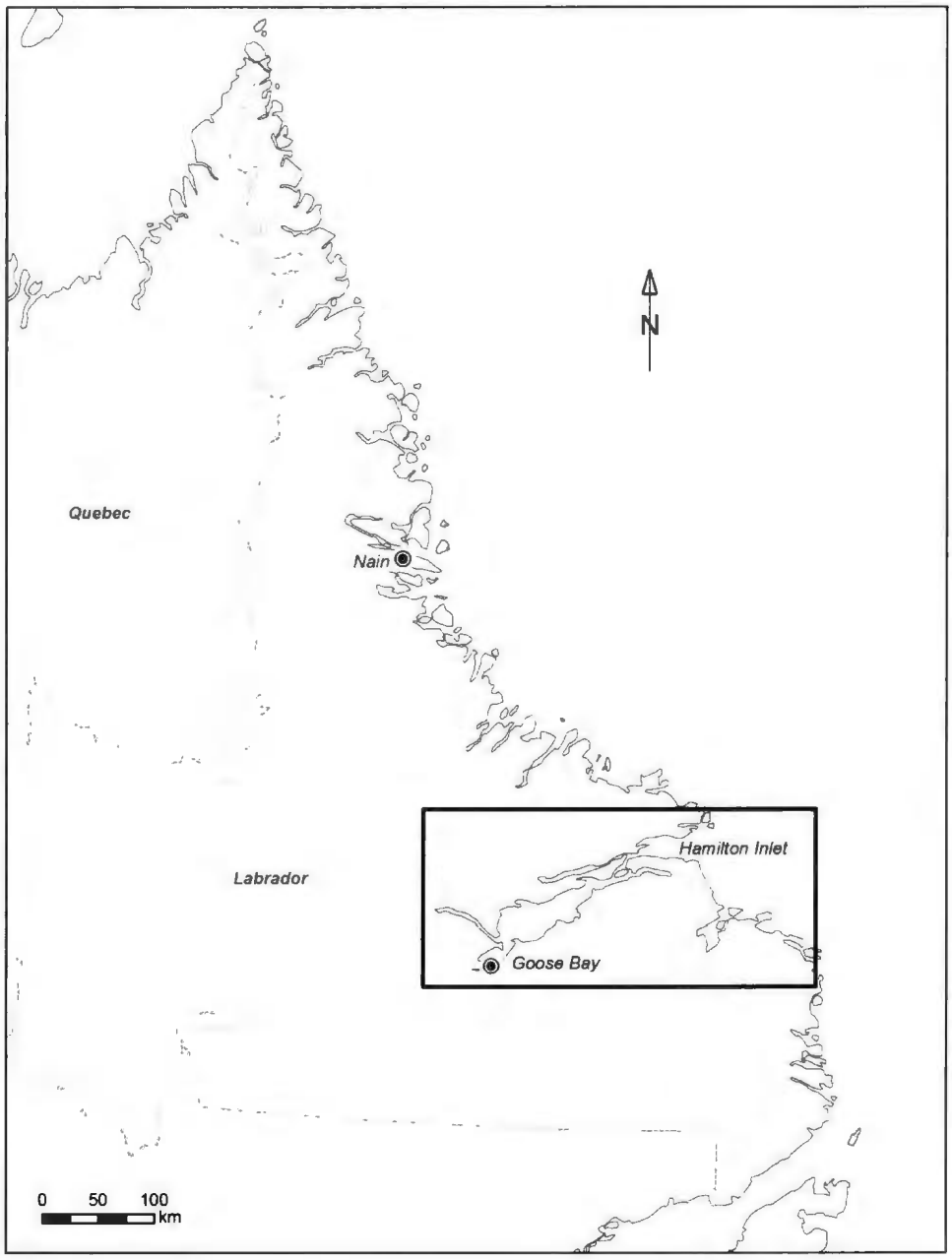


Figure 3.2: Hamilton Inlet Region Highlighted (Bryn Tapper for An Archaeology of the Petit Nord)

In 1627, the French government in Canada began to grant seigneurial deeds and concessions to merchants from France. Starting in 1661, this policy was extended to the southern coast of Labrador and northern Newfoundland. By this time Quebec had developed a merchant class (Trudel 1981:282). These grants allowed the seigneurs, as they were called, exclusive rights to fish, hunt seals and trade on these lands. In Labrador the seigneurs' efforts were focussed on sealing. While the seigneurs did trade and fish, they still desired Aboriginal goods like furs and seals skins and oil, so they set up trading posts to facilitate trading with the Aboriginals (Trudel 1981). While little documentation exists concerning this trade, the Innu did frequent these stations (Armitage 1991). The same group of Innu would return every spring to trade for furs and would then continue on with their summer fishing (Trudel 1981:285).

The French presence along the Petit Nord grew during this period. During the mid to late seventeenth century 4,000 to 5,000 migratory fishers were working along the Petit Nord (Pope 2006:26). However, this number was greatly affected in the latter half of the century by wars in France and, as such, numbers fluctuated greatly (Trudel 1981:275). The fisheries were an economic venture and it was important for the French merchants to protect their interests. The merchants of Saint Malo had obtained the right to outfit vessels to guard against Aboriginal attacks in 1635 (de la Morandiere 1962:386-387)[8]. This follows what seems to have been a continuing pattern of mutual aggression and retaliation between the Inuit and the French (Biggar 1922-1936: 168-169). A particularly violent attack, likely occurring around 1609, was referenced in a letter by Sir David Kirke in 1639, in which a group of Inuit killed 16 fishermen at St. Julien, used the

[8] As cited in Martijn 2001.

dead men's clothing as disguises and then killed a further 21 men at Croque (Howley 1915:23). This attack seems to have been a planned retaliation. The escalation in violence points to a pattern of retaliations where power conflicts between the French-based fishers and Inuit were becoming increasingly important.

Despite this violence, trade still occurred. It is possible that specific groups of Inuit were responsible for violence while others simply wanted to profit from trade. The Quirpon area was a favorite spot of the Inuit to land and, while the documents from this period do not record many interactions, this area became a common spot for trade in the eighteenth century and likely earlier. Martijn suggests that lack of information about this trade could simply be a bias in the documents that happen to be available or might point to something more significant (Martijn 2009:73). The French might have omitted any positive interactions with the Inuit in order to gain support and money for protecting the fishery against Inuit attacks. By this time the Inuit people in Labrador had undergone some significant changes as well. As previously mentioned, they were now present in large numbers along the central and southern Labrador coast (Murphy 2011; Rankin 2010; Stopp 2002; Stopp and Jalbert 2010; Stopp and Wolfe 2011; Stopp 2012).

Contact patterns established during earlier interactions in the sixteenth century seem to have continued into the seventeenth; however, they had undeniably intensified. While contact was still only seasonal, it seemed to have occurred on an almost yearly basis. The Innu developed a clear pattern of returning every year to trade with the seigneurs or their employees. While it is possible that some violence occurred, European documents focus on the positive encounters with the Innu and the benefits of this trading

relationship. This relationship might have been successful due to the Innu's acceptance of Catholicism (Mailhot 1997).

Interactions between the Inuit and the French were primarily seasonal, preventing more regular contacts. This relationship was highly contentious and seems to have been mostly violent in nature. Despite this tense relationship, the value of trading with the Inuit could not be overlooked and seigniouries were granted on the island of Newfoundland with the specific aim of encouraging trade with the Inuit (Martijn 2001). While at times this relationship was cooperative, there was a lack of a common ground between the groups which prevented the relationships from improving.

3.3.5 c. 1713-1775

Significant changes occurred during the eighteenth century. Wars in Europe greatly affected the administration and distribution of European territories along the Newfoundland and Labrador coast. This, in turn affected the Innu and the Inuit. Stopp contends that the eighteenth century marked the end to many aspects of traditional Innu and Inuit lifeways. This sudden end was due to many factors: the increased control of Europeans over their traditional coastal territories; a growing Inuit reliance on European goods; changing economic structures due to trade; along with growing conflict; and the spread of European disease (Stopp 2008:11).

The Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 recognized British supremacy over the island of Newfoundland, restricting the French to fishing solely along a defined French Shore and prohibiting them from building fortified structures or any permanent buildings (Hiller 1996). Along with this, the French were forced to abandon Plaisance, their settlement on

the south coast of Newfoundland and move their colony to Cape Breton (Crompton 2012:108). The Cape Breton fishery, while an important fishing zone, was not as large as the Newfounland fishery, therefore, the fishing industry began to frequent the coast of Labrador, which was already well known by the French, if not extensively exploited (Trudel 1978:102). Therefore, the fishing industry turned its attention to the coast of Labrador, which was already well known by the French, if not extensively exploited. The concession system was already in place in Labrador, and, after 1713, the number of concessions granted along the coast increased (Trudel 1978:103). Many of these concessions were owned by Quebec merchants, as Labrador was administered by the governor of Quebec (Whiteley 1976:92-93). Fortified trading posts were established. For example Augustin le Gardeur de Courtemanche established a post at Brador in 1704 out of which he operated large-scale sealing and cod fishing operations as well as to trade with the Innu (Loring 1992:107). To help establish this trade, he arranged for 30 Innu families to settle near the post to trap furs that he would trade them for (Loring 1992:113).

Relationships with the Inuit in the area had been particularly violent in the early eighteenth century. The post at Red Bay, built by Quebec merchants, was burned by the Inuit in 1718 (Loring 1992:107). It seems that the French attempted to improve their relationship with the Inuit as they wished to interact with them more frequently (Kaplan 1983:165). French fishing crews continued to engage in infrequent trading with the Inuit even though this was now considered illegal, as the grantees had exclusive trading rights (Trudel1978:107). Despite efforts to make trading more regular, it remained intermittent

and did not become a prominent part of the French economy in Labrador (Trudel 1978:107).

The boundaries of French and British territories in Newfoundland and Labrador shifted again after the end of the Seven Years War, with the Treaty of Paris in 1763. The treaty shifted the exploitation patterns of the Europeans and changed the degree of control that the French or British could exert over a specific area. The governance of Labrador was now placed under the Governor of Newfoundland, who at this time was Hugh Palliser. Palliser's primary goal was not trade with the Inuit or the Innu but rather effective exploitation of the resources that were available. British West Country and Jersey merchants began to establish posts at former French posts, to pursue cod-fishing and sealing (Stopp 2008). In addition to taking over former French or Canadian posts, the treaty restricted fishing off the coast of Labrador to British ships.

In order to exploit Labrador's resources successfully, Palliser realized it would be necessary to establish peace with the Inuit. In 1764, Palliser issued a proclamation which outlined that all Inuit were to be treated without violence and protected in order to encourage trade (Palliser 1764a:930). The English also wanted to keep this trade for themselves. In order to do this they needed to stop the Inuit from travelling to the Petit Nord to trade with the French (Palliser 1764b:935-936). Despite this the Inuit continued to travel to Newfoundland to both trade and raid French sites (Martijn 2009:82). They also wanted the British to gain access to the best harbours and to do this they outlawed wintering on the coast for anyone from Quebec or any of the other colonies (Palliser 1765a:943).

Palliser hoped that trade in the Strait of Belle Isle would prosper, particularly with the Innu as they already traded peacefully in this region and were used to coming to the coast to trade with the French (Palliser 1764b:935-936). While Palliser still hoped to engage in trade with the Inuit, he did not want them coming south and interfering with the British fishing and sealing crews (Palliser 1764b:935-936). If trading was going to occur, Palliser wanted it to be with the British and not with the French. The French traded quite regularly with the Inuit at Quirpon. Captain Galiot, a French fishing captain, had taken great pains to turn Quirpon into a safe harbour for French-Inuit trade (Martijn 2009:82). The trip to Quirpon seems to have become a regular part of the Inuit seasonal round by the mid eighteenth century. However, Palliser's new regulations made the actions taken by French captains, like Captain Galiot, illegal and, by 1767, much of the work that Galiot had done at Quirpon was undone, as the Inuit stole all of his sails. (de la Morandière 1962:908-909)[9].

To curtail the movement of the Inuit south to trade, Palliser sought an alternative solution in the form of the Moravian missionaries. Having found success in Greenland, the Moravians seemed like the perfect group to make inroads with the Inuit, as they spoke a version of their language. The Moravians had attempted to establish a mission in 1752, but this failed after the Inuit killed the entire expedition, who were never seen again (Cary 2004; Kennedy 2009). Exactly what occurred, or why the Inuit killed the Moravians, is unknown. The Inuit might have felt threatened by the appearance of these new people.

The Moravians approached Palliser in a second attempt to establish a mission. Palliser fully supported this venture and granted approval in 1769. The Moravian

[9] As cited in Martijn 2009:82.

established their mission at Nain in 1771. While this is technically out of the study area, its effect on the settlement patterns of the Inuit in southern Labrador was quite significant. While Inuit still went south, many settled around the missions in the north, which had trading posts. The Moravians did not wish to alter traditional Inuit life ways; however, they did not encourage the seasonal forays into the south even though this was a part of the Inuit traditional seasonal round. In 1773, the Inuit who lived at the mission were forbidden from travelling south, although they could get written permission to do so (Curtis 1772:1054).

Despite the access to goods at the Missions the Inuit continued to travel south, possibly because the Moravians would not trade alcohol or firearms to the Inuit (Martijn 2009:83). Several Inuit, like Mikkak and Tuglavina, encouraged the Inuit to accept the Moravians and eventually Inuit settlement and subsistence patterns did alter (Arendt 2010). Palliser passed very specific guidelines regarding how traders should approach and deal with the Inuit. They were to "treat them in a most civil and friendly manner and in all their dealing with them not to take any effects from them without satisfying them for the same [so]....that they may safely trade with all His subjects without danger of being hurt or ill treated (Palliser 1765b:1298).

While the Moravian missions are one of the main reasons for the Inuit retreat to the north, Trudel suggests another reason for this movement (Trudel 1978). He proposes that the growth of the French cod-fishery prior to the Treaty of Paris in 1763 drove the Inuit farther north because the expanded Canadian and French sedentary fisheries interfered with the traditional subsistence strategies of the Inuit (Trudel 1978:117).

With the arrival of British rule along the coast, new traders came into the mix. British merchants set up many of their posts where French posts had been. Captain George Cartwright, an English merchant and explorer, left journals detailing his experiences trading in Labrador. Cartwright had strong beliefs about how Aboriginal groups should be treated and about how to implement these humanitarian beliefs when interacting with the Inuit and Innu (Stopp 2008:24). He established his first post at Cape Charles in 1770. Cartwright developed close ties with the Inuit community, taking several Inuit with him to England in 1772 and 1774. While these trips were well intentioned, almost all of the Inuit he took over with him died of smallpox. Cartwright's journals state that he was deeply saddened by their deaths (Stopp 2008:28).

Cartwright's journals are quite detailed, offering advice on subjects ranging from building a proper seal trap, to trading with the Inuit. He detailed several steps that would have to be taken to "bring that trade to the degree of perfection which it is capable of" including learning their language, gaining their confidence, improving their morals and supplying them with goods to make their lives more comfortable (Stopp 2008:175). Cartwright is seemingly suggesting that in order for a symetrical and cooperative trading relationship to be established, that the Inuit had to be changed. While a fairly symmetrical relationship was the goal, in order for this to be accomplished the power balance would have to shift heavily towards the Europeans to allow for this reshaping of the Inuit into suitable trading partners. Despite Cartwright's belief that the Inuit must be changed in order to establish a more productive trading relationship, he clearly respected the Inuit and realized they were valuable trading partners (Stopp 2008:176).

Cartwright also had some interactions with the Innu. His papers give clear directions on how to process oil and skin otters in the "Mountaineer-Indian" way (Stopp 2008:181-182). Cartwright's knowledge of Innu ways illustrates a familiarity was not likely obtained during the course of a single encounter, however, the extent of Cartwright's interactions with the Innu seem to be more superficial than the relationships he formed with the Inuit. In his correspondences, he suggests that any merchant should "associate very much with Indians of all Nations, for you will learn something from each" (Stopp 2008:200).[10]

The violence in this period appears to have become more regular. Instead of skirmishes out of revenge or in retaliation to some sort of slight, there were planned attacks involving garrisons of men based in forts (Stopp 2008:16). These garrisons were put in place to keep the peace, not just between Europeans and Aboriginals but also between the different European and American crews that were working in the area. In the early twentieth century Gosling recounts Palliser's opinion of the colonial fishing crews in the Strait of Belle Isle in the 1760s as "the very scum of the most disorderly people from the different colonies, disturbing each other, and conspiring to ruin and exclude all British adventurers from that new and valuable fishery" (Gosling 1910:176; c.f. Mitchell in press). There was undoubtedly animosity towards the British among the Canadians and the French who had worked along this shore for generations and who were now no longer allowed to fish there. It is unlikely that they vacated their premises immediately and this likely led to skirmishes. The coast was a chaotic place which, according to

[10] When Cartwright spoke of "Indians" he usually meant the Inuit, he described the Innu as Mountaineers or Mountaineer Indians.

Governor Palliser, was only compounded by the fact that these events occurred "upon a coast inhabited by the most savage people in the world – the Eskimo" (Gosling 1910:176).

3.4 Discussion and Conclusions

While there was contact in the early historic period between the Inuit and the Innu this seems to have decreased throughout the contact period. This is likely due to changes in their territorial boundaries (Loring 1992). These boundaries shifted to become more distinct, further separating these groups and leading to less frequent contact. The exact nature of Innu/Inuit contact is difficult to determine, without further archaeological investigation. In this case, ethnohistorical research may add little to the conversation. While contact does seem to have decreased during the historical period the relationship between the Innu and the Inuit was very antagonistic. This antagonistic relationship seems to have directly influenced how incoming Europeans viewed the Inuit. It seems that the Innu encountered Europeans earlier than the Inuit. The Innu's negative perception of the Inuit would have coloured any information that they shared with Europeans regarding the Inuit.

During the eighteenth century, contact among the various cultural groups became more structured. It was also more focused on power relationships and control. While the relationship between the Inuit and the Moravians was fairly reciprocal, power was ultimately with the Moravians. They dictated who was allowed to live at the missions and what they would sell to the Inuit. However, the Inuit still maintained power as they continued to travel south to obtain goods that the Moravians did not wish to sell them.

The hostilities between the Inuit and the French likely impeded the formation of habitual trading rituals to form. It is possible that this is why scavenging seasonally abandoned sites remained so important to the Inuit, while the Innu were firmly ensconced in trade. It was safer to raid sites and this also ensured that they would get nails and other items that they wanted.

Despite the continued violence, some Inuit clearly became more comfortable with trading. This can be seen in the rise of the *big men* traders. These traders rose in prominence, which suggests that certain individuals became more comfortable with Europeans and thereby developed different contact patterns than the general population.

Chapter 4- Archaeological Analysis: Nails

4.1 Introduction

The archaeological aspect of this study is focussed on two specific European artifacts, iron nails and ceramics. Both classes of artifacts are commonly found at Inuit and European sites. While nails and ceramics are utilitarian in nature, the wide varieties of ceramic styles also allow insight into personal choice and the relative status of the people who occupied archaeological sites. Nails and ceramics were essential to establishing European fishing and mercantile operations in Newfoundland and Labrador. Nails were needed to build cabins, stages and to assemble fishing shallops, which were transported to Newfoundland and Labrador in pieces and then assembled on site (Trudel 1981:156). Large ceramic vessels were used to transport food for the migratory fishing season, while smaller vessels were used for food preparation and consumption and ointments of various kinds. Neither nails nor ceramics were initially traded to the Inuit, although this changed over time. Instead, these items were obtained when the Inuit visited abandoned European fishing stations.

Nails and ceramics from both European and Inuit archaeological sites were examined for this study. European assemblages were examined in an attempt to determine what nails and ceramics were available in the study area. Determining the range of available goods at European sites can help determine what kinds of choices the Inuit made regarding what European goods they chose to incorporate into their material culture (Silliman 2005b:281-282).

4.2 Methodology

Two sets of criteria were used to define the methodology for the archaeological aspect of this thesis. The first set of criteria concerns the selection of archaeological sites for this study. The second sets of criteria are approaches for the nail and ceramic studies. The ceramic criteria will be discussed in detail in Chapter 5, as this chapter will deal with the analysis of nails.

4.2.1 Site Selection

Several criteria were considered when selecting sites. The first and most obvious criterion is that the sites had to fall within the geographical parameters of this study. Second, sites were chosen that represented the entire study period. As the Norse occupation at L'Anse Aux Meadow was brief and did not produce large quantities of nails or ceramics, the archaeological portion of this study begins after 1500. In short, sites needed to span ideally the period of 1500 to 1850. Extensive archaeological surveys have been conducted in this region; however, it was necessary to find sites that had more intensive excavations, as this would provide a larger archaeological assemblage to work with and would hopefully rule out any confusion as to the ethnicity of the occupants of the sites. The sites that I examined had either test trenches or large block excavations which enabled a larger assemblage to be examined. Determining the ethnicity of sod houses has proved problematic in the past, as Europeans, Inuit and Métis, all at some time, lived in sod houses (Auger 1989, 1991; Beaudoin 2008; Beaudoin et al. 2010). Therefore, sites that have been associated with specific cultural groups were preferred to aid my examination of the flow of goods among the numerous groups involved.

Identifying suitable European sites was relatively uncomplicated as many of them are large and have a distinct archaeological signature. Many European sites are noted in documents, as well as on maps and naval charts. For example, the charts created by Georges Cloué show French Migratory fishing sites along the coast. The French migratory fishing room of Champ Paya, excavated at the archaeological site Dos de Cheval (EfAx-09) located in Crouse Harbour on the Great Northern Peninsula, was selected for the study of nails (Figure 4.1). This site has been extensively excavated by Dr. Peter Pope of Memorial University from 2004 to 2009 and by Phd student Mélissa Burns in 2011. Several MA theses have been written about the site, including an analysis of the coarse earthenwares and the coarse stonewares that will be referenced in the discussion of French ceramics (St. John 2011). Analysis of the artifacts at Dos de Cheval is ongoing and the collections were accessed with permission from Dr. Peter Pope.

The second European site that I will examine is from the late eighteenth century and is believed to be the site of English merchant George Cartwright's first trading station (Stopp 2004). Lodge 1 (FbAx-4) is located in the community of Lodge Bay along the Charles River in Labrador. This site was used as both a mercantile base and as Cartwright's living quarters. Lodge Bay is archaeologically useful since it had a short occupation. Cartwright first used this site in 1771 and it burnt down in September 1772 (Stopp 2004:16). It provides a contrasting perspective to Champ Paya, as Lodge 1 belonged to a British merchant site and was not a migratory fishing station. These sites represent two different European cultures and two different sets of commercial aims

The remainder of the sites are believed to be Inuit and are located along the Labrador Coast. I say believed to be Inuit, as some of them have only been tested and

any ethnic affiliation is preliminary. The first is House 2 at Indian Harbour on Huntingdon Island (FkBg-3), in Sandwich Bay near the present day town of Cartwright, Labrador. This site consists of several winter sod houses and summer tent rings. Several of the sod houses and portions of the tents rings have been excavated; however, only the nails from House 2 were examined for this study. House 2 was excavated during the summer of 2010 by Dr. Lisa Rankin as part of the Community and University Research Alliance (CURA) project *Understanding the Past to Build the Future*. The site was an Inuit winter sod house. The entire sod house was excavated measuring approximately 3.5m from front to back and 3.5m from side to side (Rankin 2011:126). Based on the artifacts and architecture, preliminary analysis places the site in the mid seventeenth century (Rankin pers. comm.). The analysis of this site is ongoing and the iron assemblage was accessed with permission from Dr. Lisa Rankin.

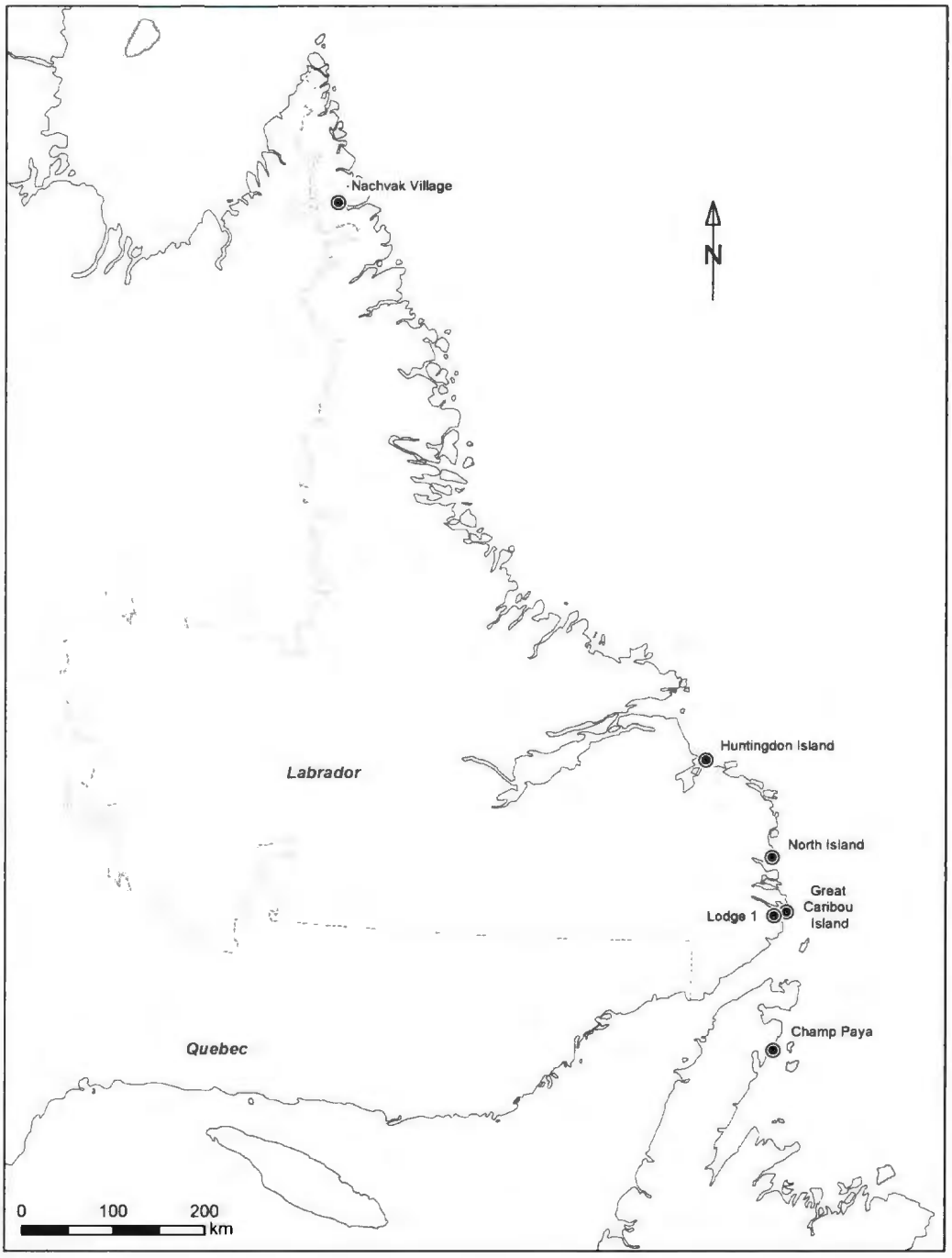


Figure 4.1 Archaeological Sites (Brynn Tapper for An Archaeology of the Petit Nord)

The second site is located on North Island in the Dead Island group at the mouth of St. Michael's Bay in Labrador. This site consists of two Inuit winter sod houses that were occupied at roughly the same period. Investigations were carried out under the supervision of Dr. Marianne Stopp as part of *Understanding the Past*. Test trenches were dug in both houses in 2009, with further excavation carried out on House B in 2010 and 2011. The interior of the house was almost completely excavated and the dimensions of the house were found to be approximately 8 x 8m. Artifact analysis indicates an extended occupation ranging from the late seventeenth century up to the mid to late eighteenth century (Stopp 2012; Stopp and Wolfe 2011). Analysis is ongoing and the assemblage from this site was accessed with permission from Dr. Marianne Stopp.

The third site is FbAv-13 and is located on Great Caribou Island, which was also excavated by Dr. Stopp as part of *Understanding the Past*. This site consists of two sod houses located above Green Cove on the west side of the island. During the 2009 field season, both of the sod houses were tested with several 1 x 1m units placed in both sod houses and their associated middens (Stopp and Jalbert 2010). The artifact assemblage is predominately European, with no evidence of traditional Inuit objects. Despite this, Stopp believes that the houses are indeed Inuit, based on the architecture of the house and the stone fox traps and cobble storage pits that are associated with the houses (Stopp and Jalbert 2010; Stopp pers. comm.). The houses have similar artifact assemblages and are thought to be contemporaneous. Based on the ceramics, the houses date to the late eighteenth century. Research of this site is ongoing and the assemblage was accessed with permission from Dr. Marianne Stopp.

Nails from a fourth site, Nachvak Village, were examined. The site of Nachvak Village, IgCx-3, is located in northern Labrador. A site north of the study area was included to assess whether any trade patterns between the south and the north could be identified in the nails. The Inuit material culture of northern Labrador is complicated by the presence of the Moravian missionaries. Nachvak Village dates from the late pre-contact period up to 1700, which avoids the complications of Moravian influence.

4.2.2 Nail Analysis Methodology

The nails were analyzed based on two basic aspects: length and the presence or absence of modification. Nails are often used to date sites by noting the presence or absence of hand wrought vs. machine cut nails. Other nail studies examine the morphology of the nail head, which can indicate the intended purpose of the nail (Nelson 1968; Noël Hume 1969:252). Auger's discussion of Inuit nail use at Degrat Island and Seal Island focuses on nail head morphology and concluded that 80 percent of the nails at the sites were rose-headed or multi-purpose nails (Auger 1991a:66-68). The problem with Auger's approach is that it assumes that nails were used for their original purpose, which was not always the case. I focussed my analysis on nail length to try to avoid assumptions of the intended use of the nails. Classifying nails by length is also appropriate as nails were often sold or ordered according to length historically (Anon. 1696; Weaver and Buggey 1976). Finally, during field analysis of nails at Dos de Cheval, nails were classified based on their length. In order to keep continuity between the field and laboratory analysis, I chose to focus on the length of the nails.

The sizing of nails is highly subjective, with classifications and specific names of nails changing based on their use, who is selling the nails and their size (Anon. 1696; McCarthy 1996; Weaver and Buggey 1976). If one was to use the French naval classification system over the British naval classification this would imply that the nails found at Aboriginal sites are known to be from specific European sites and might impose a European pattern onto an Aboriginal one, which is not the intent. As well, some of the European standards are not applicable to all the sites of the same origin. For example, the French naval nails from the anonymous *Clouterie* documents only classify nails up to about 150mm, which does not include all nails (Anon. 1696). Furthermore, some of the lengths given in this system have more than one name. With this in mind, it was deemed to be more prudent to develop and apply my own classification system.

As mentioned above, the primary characteristic used to classify the nail assemblages was length. My scheme is a modified and expanded version of the classification system used during excavations at Dos de Cheval (EfAx-09), the site of the Champ Paya fishing room. Beginning in the 2008 field season, nails were classified as small, medium, large or spikes, and the total number of each type of nail was recorded for each event and each unit. This system of classification was purely subjective as there were no set standards for what was a large nail, etc. While I have maintained the basic size categories used in the field, I have expanded this and also clearly defined each size. These sizes were arbitrarily defined based on my own observations and experiences of looking at nails in the field and in the lab. The categories are as follows: small 0-49mm, medium 50-99mm, large 100-149mm, small spike 150-199mm, medium spike 200-249mm and large spike 250mm+ (Table 4.1). In addition to these six categories, any

nails that were easily identifiable as a specific type of nail, like a roofing nail, were classified as such.

There are of course some issues with this sort of classification system. The first is that it is arbitrary and it does not take into account how the people who used the nails classified them. However, as I am dealing with different cultural groups, at different times, using one culture's system of classifying nails would impose a classification system onto assemblages that were likely not classified this way. Using a non-culturally specific classification scheme allows me to maintain consistency across the collections. Another issue with assigning nails to size categories is that it does not adequately represent the variation within the categories. A nail on the larger side of the small nail category, say 48mm, and a nail on the smaller side of medium, say 52mm, are obviously closer in size than a nail on the small end of the medium category and the large end of the medium category. However, like all categories these simply make analysis easier.

While these categories are objective, there is a subjective element to this analysis. Many of the nails are incomplete. If a nail appeared to be close to complete and was on the high end of one of the ranges, say 48mm, then it was bumped up to the next category. In other cases, the nails ended very bluntly and were clearly not intact. In these cases, I examined the width of the nail and, after comparing the width with other nails, assigned a plausible size. In some cases, this was not possible as the shaft of the nail had deteriorated so much that the width of it could not be determined. In these cases the nail size was simply classified as undetermined.

Analysis of the nails was conducted in the conservation and prehistory labs at Memorial University. Nails from the archaeological site Dos de Cheval, the French

fishing room of Champ Paya, were still undergoing the chemical process of conservation while the nails from the rest of the sites were measured before they were reburied or before they went into conservation. Nails were measured from the top of the head to the tip of the shaft (Figure 4.2). This was done using both electronic callipers and a standard measuring tape for larger nails. Abnormally shaped nails, like clenched or curved nails, were more difficult. I followed the shape with a wire and then stretched it out along the measuring tape to find the length. The style of the head of the nail was also noted

Nails were examined for evidence of possible modification. Some nails were purposefully modified, while other modifications were incidental from daily use. One of the most common types of purposefully modified nails in a maritime setting was clenched nails. These nails are driven through a piece of wood and then bent over on the inside of the structure (McCarthy 1996; Wells 2000). This modification is taken further with cleated nails, which are then bent a second time, creating what is essentially a staple (Figure 4.3). Some nails were made with a more malleable metal so that they would be easier to be clinched or cleated (de Kerchove 1961:155).[11] Other nails seem to be modified by every day use. Two types of nails that seem to indicate reuse are curved nails and *J-shaped nails*. The tip of *J-shape nails* are curved up to form a J. These nails were likely modified during their removal from wood. As a nail is levered from the wood the end would be curved. Rather than being an indicator of the modification of nails, it is an indicator of reuse. The same can be said of a simple curved nail. The curves of these nails are not large enough to have been intentional and these too likely represent nail reuse rather than nail modification.

[11] As cited in McCarthy 1996:182

Size	Length (in mm)
Small	0-49.9
Medium	50-99.9
Large	100-149.9
Small Spike	150-199.9
Medium Spike	200-249.9
Large Spike	250+

Table 4.1 Nail Sizes and Lengths

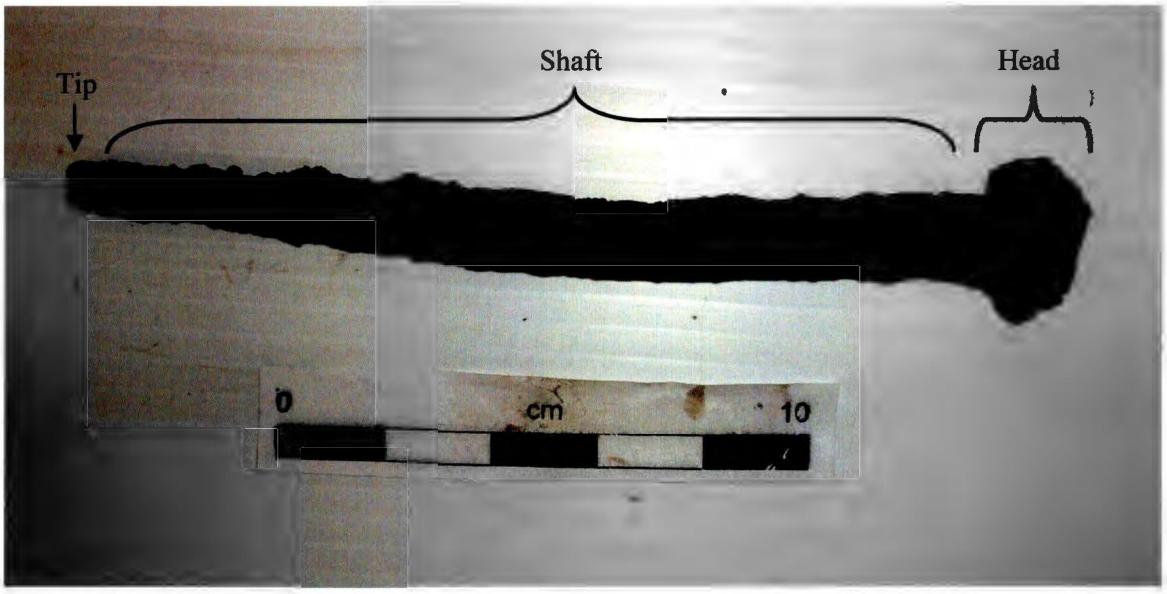


Figure 4.2 Diagnostic Features of a Nail

At Inuit sites, nails were used for building as well as being modified for other purposes. The Inuit cold hammered nails and shaped them into several different traditional tools, such as harpoons, ulus, etc. (Jordan 1978:176). Like nails at European sites, some nails are modified purposefully and other nails are modified incidentally during everyday use. Any form of modification was noted for further analysis.

4.3 Research Questions

Despite the claim that one of the driving forces behind the Inuit movement south of Hamilton Inlet was their desire for iron, a thorough and intensive examination of the source of and availability of this iron has not been conducted. This study sets out to see if any patterns can be detected in Inuit preferences for iron and what, if any, modifications were present in these nails. Did the Inuit prefer to gather larger spikes which would be easier to collect and which yielded more iron per item? Or, did they collect smaller nails which were, perhaps, easier to work with? And how much was this selection affected by what was available at European sites?

a.

b.

c.

d.

Figure 4.3 Modified Nails from Dos de Cheval (EfAx-09). a) Clenched nail b) cleated nail c) *J-shaped* nail d) curved nail

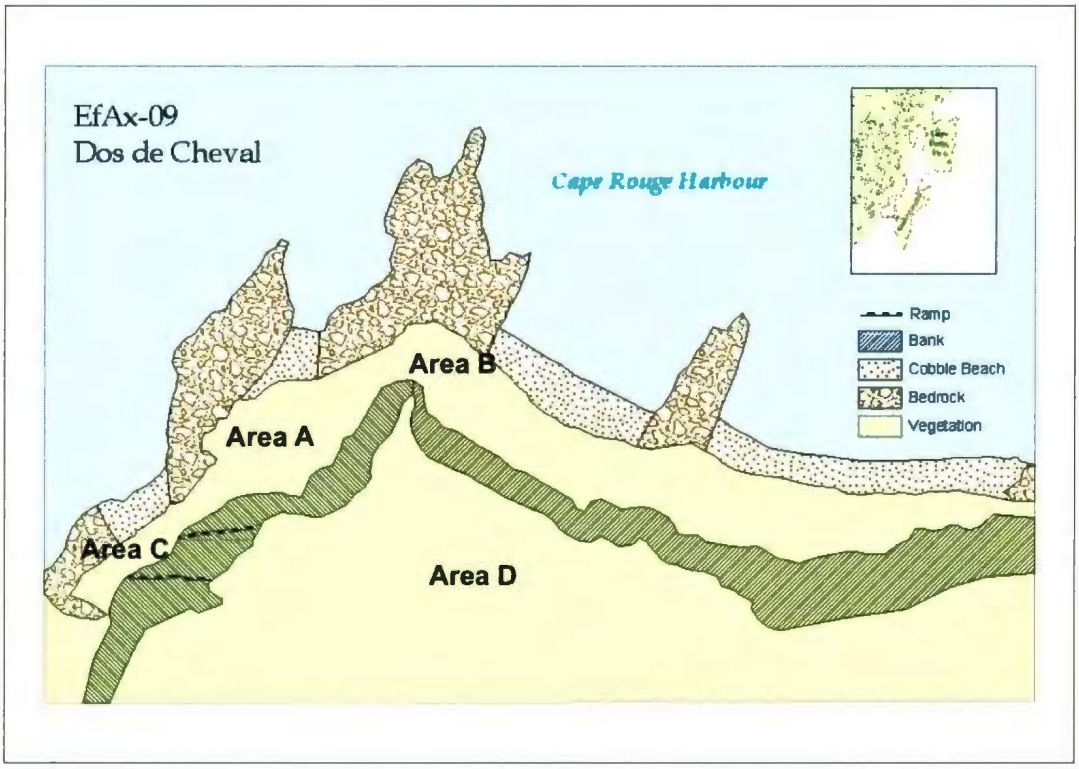


Figure 4.4 Plan of Dos de Cheval (EfAx-09), with main areas shown. Nails studied here are from Area C (Marco Chiaramonte for An Archaeology of the Petit Nord).

4.4 European Case Study: Dos de Cheval (EfAx-09)

The archaeological site of Dos de Cheval is located in Cap Rouge Harbour on the eastern coast of the Great Northern Peninsula, near the present day village of Crouse and has exposed remains of the historic fishing room, Champ Paya. Cap Rouge Harbour was home to several fishing rooms and its use was first documented when Jacques Cartier visited as early as 1541 (Pope 2008:38). The Champ Paya fishing room was reported in use as early as 1640. Archaeological evidence shows that the fishing room was in almost constant use until the *Entente Cordiale* of 1904. Several different areas of the site have been excavated, the most productive area being the waterfront, Area C (Figure 4.4). This area was where the actual fishing activities were carried out and it contained many of the larger structures on the site, including the stage.

Area C yielded thousands of nails, most of which were wrought iron, and was the focus of the study. Throughout the years, a sampling strategy was developed on site. This involved categorizing the nails as small, medium, large or spikes as they were excavated. These numbers where then recorded for each event and unit. Due to the large amount of nails at the site, it would have been cost prohibitive to collect all nails for conservation. The archaeological permit required a small sample, approximately 5 percent of all nails, to be collected for conservation and further study. In total, more than 5 percent of nails from the site were collected using the following system. For each event and unit the best example of each nail size was saved. If any nails were considered especially interesting, such as modified nails, these were kept as well. This strategy was fully realized in 2008 and 2009. In 2006, nails were not recorded in this way. In 2007, some level records had numbers and sizes of nails while others simply noted if nails were

present. Due to these inconsistencies and lack of information the 2006 and 2007, field notes were not used in this study. In 2008 almost all of the level record forms had the sizes of nails noted, but not all of them had quantities. This system is further complicated by the fact that there was no standardized system in place for judging what classifies as a small, medium or large nail. Despite this lack of standardization, the information gathered can still tell us about nail distribution. To supplement this data and to add a more standardized approach, I analyzed the nails that were brought back to the lab for conservation from the 2008 and 2009 field seasons.

The waterfront, Area C, is an anthropogenic terrace that has grown over the original cobble beach. The artifacts indicate that this area was heavily utilized during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Excavations during the 2008 season uncovered the remains of a possible smithy feature dating to the late seventeenth/early eighteenth century and a structure of tabular rocks including a hearth feature which was part of a larger structure, possibly a cook room. The stage area was discovered in 2008 and this was explored further in 2009. The southernmost units had several burn events. These units are up against a large outcropping of bedrock and were likely the site of temporary shelters and fires. Finally, in 2009 the traces of a small structure, likely a hut for crewmen, were discovered along the waterfront and were further explored in the 2011 excavations.

4.4.1 Nail Distributions at EfAx-09

In order to explore nail usage across the site, the totals recorded on the level forms were tallied and plotted on a grid that represents the units for the 2008 and 2009 seasons

(Figure 4.5). These totals were then broken down into sizes to see if any patterns according to size could be determined (see Appendix 1 for nail distributions in Area C by size; Figure 4.13 and Table 4.2). This exercise revealed several concentrations of nails. Two of these concentrations are associated with burn events. The first is a concentration of about six units that are part of a larger burn event that was likely the result of a cookroom burning down. The nails gathered in these units had fire damage. This concentration of nails was either the result of the actual burn episode or they are the result of the clean up from this fire (Pope et al. 2009). The second concentration is associated with the hearth features beside the *Book End*, a large bedrock outcropping at the east end of the Area C. The Book End seems to have been used as part of a temporary shelter for sailors. There is no evidence for a structure in this area so these nails were likely imbedded in planks that were then burned in these fires. Again, most of the nails in these deposits had heat damage. The other large concentration is found at the northern end of what is thought to be the stage area. The stage would have been a busy area of the fishing station and it is likely that the abundance of nails at the edge of the stage was deposited as part of the process of keeping the work area clear or during the annual reconstruction of the stage.

The distribution of spikes across the site is also interesting as this says something about the distribution and concentration of large structures (Figure 4.6). The majority of the spikes are found within the area that was identified as the location of the stage and its operations. Photographs of a French fishing room in Cap Rouge Harbour illustrate the extent of the built environment at a fishing room (Figure 4.7). Again, there is a concentration of spikes, as well as large and medium nails at the north end of the stage

operations. There are fewer small nails in this area when one looks at their total distribution. I believe that this distribution/concentration of larger nails is connected to nail reuse. Smaller nails would be easier to remove from wood planks than the larger nails which is why there is no noticeable concentration of small nails in this area.

4.4.2 Modified Nails

In addition to the totals taken from the in-field count of nails, I examined the nails brought back to the lab from the 2008 and 2009 seasons. This examination allowed me to determine the types of modifications present in the collection, which were not recorded in the field. There was a tendency in the field to bring altered nails back for conservation as these were seen as being more interesting than the typical corroded and straight nails. Therefore, the numbers compiled concerning modified nails are not necessarily representative of the amount of modified nails at the site but rather the types of modified nails. While the totals are not necessarily an accurate representation of what could be found at the site, they still give us some information about nail modification and reuse.

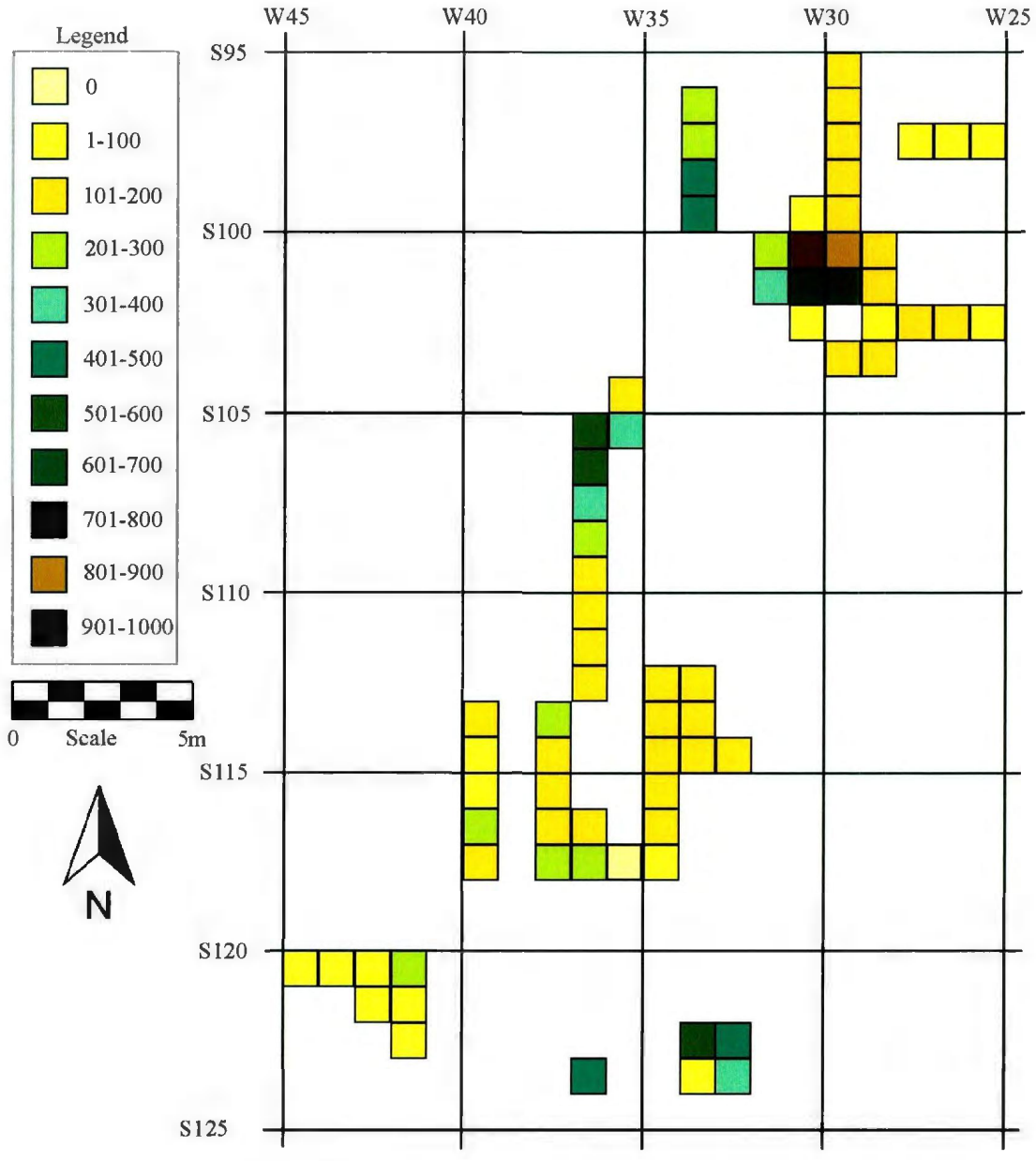


Figure 4.5 Distribution of Nails across Area C at Dos de Cheval, 2008 - 2009

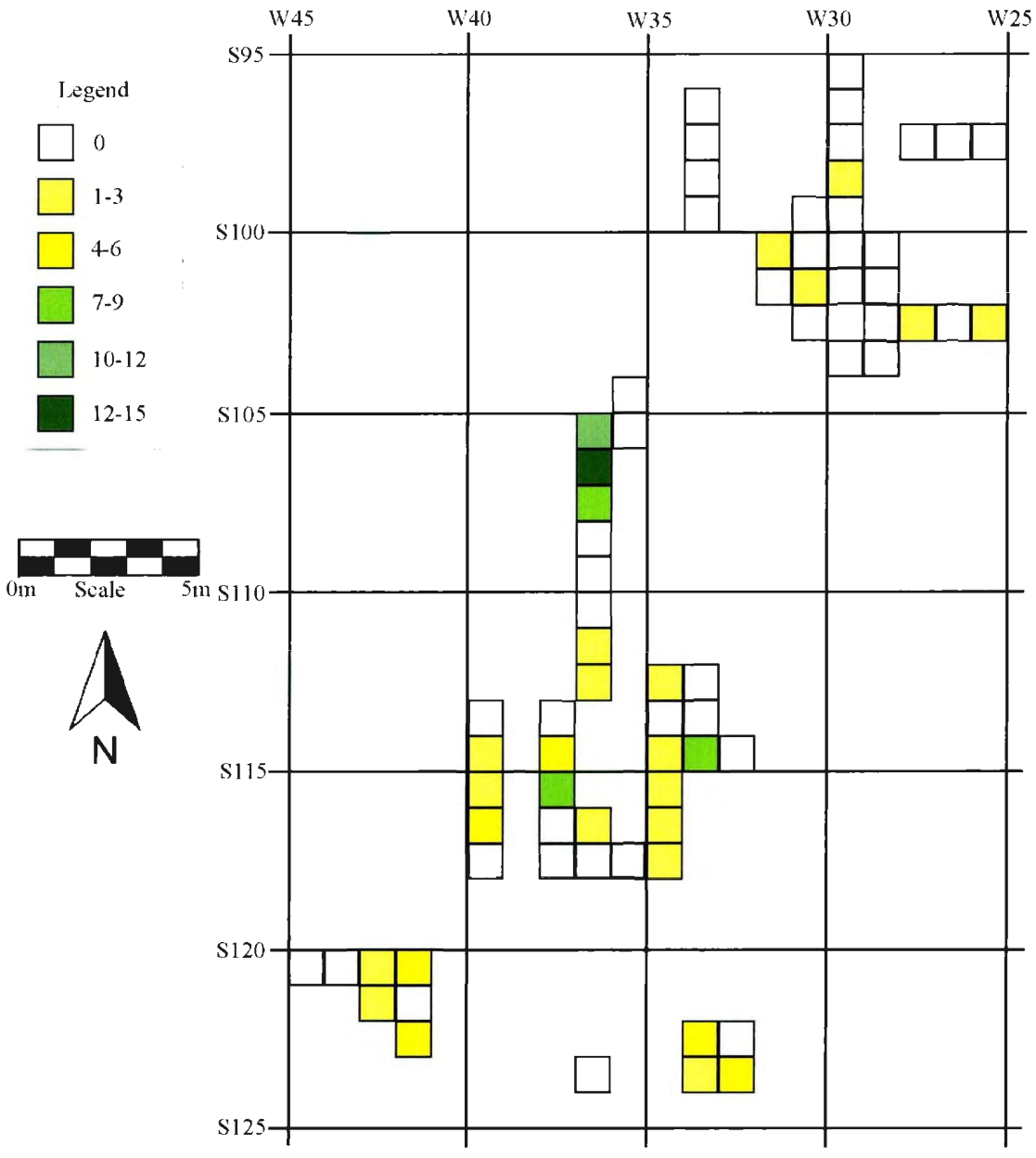


Figure 4.6 Distribution of Spikes across Area C at Dos de Cheval, 2008-2009

Figure 4.7 Stage and flakes for drying, 1857-1859. Photograph taken at South-West Crouse (EfAx-10), near Conche. (http://www.ucs.mun.ca/~mwilks/pa202290.html)

Clenched nails would have been used largely in boat construction and repair. The highest number of clenched nails occurs in the small spike category, followed closely by the large and medium nails. It is possible that small spikes are the most common nails used in the construction and repair of the shallops and hence, why they appear in higher numbers than clenched nails. There are a high number of clenched nails at the site, which may well indicate boat repair. A slipway or boat ramp, Feature 1021, was uncovered during the 2007 excavations, which strengthens the hypothesis that boat repairs were an essential activity at Dos de Cheval (St. John 2011:27). However, very few cleated nails were recovered at the site. Cleated nails also indicate boat repair or construction. The lack of cleated nails at the site might simply be the result of a preference for clenched nails over cleated nails for boat repairs.

The most frequent type of modification is curved nails. This curving occurs in many different ways but it is mostly vertically along the shaft of the nail. In most cases this curving is not pronounced enough to be intentional; nails with a more pronounced curve are addressed separately. This type of curvature seems to indicate nail reuse. Curving is by far the most numerous type of modification at 10 percent of the 514 nails measured, suggesting a high amount of nail reuse at the site. This amount of reuse is logical as a French crew would have only a finite amount of nails available to them each season. Other nails that are curved are clearly intentionally curved. Two of these nails are curved into hook shapes and resemble gaff hooks (Figure 4.8). It is highly likely that such nails were modified into makeshift tools.

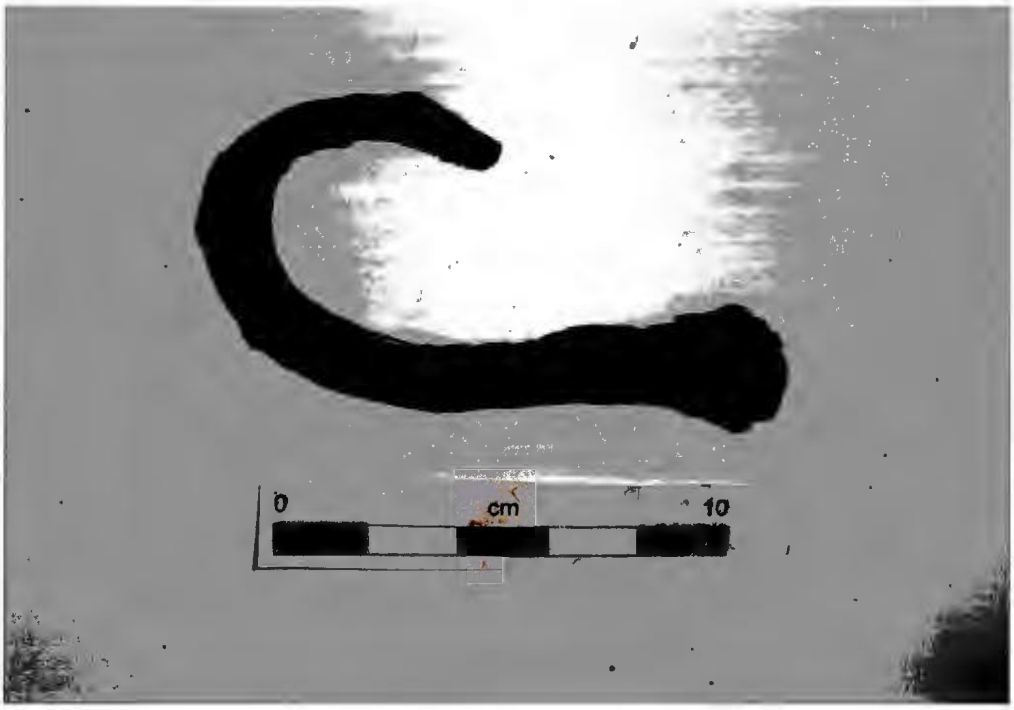


Figure 4.8 Nail modified into a hook.

Nail totals from Champ Paya reveal that the most numerous type of nail at this fishing room are large nails, followed closely by small spikes and medium nails. Smaller nails were probably not as useful on fishing rooms as crews were mostly constructing large, utilitarian structures. It is also possible that these numbers are a reflection of nail preservation as smaller nails would corrode more easily.

4.4.3 Conclusions

The study of the nails at the Dos de Cheval reveals that nail reuse was quite common at the site. It also reveals concentrations of nails across the site. This speaks to the disposal patterns and site formation across the site. Two of the nail concentrations are associated with burn events and suggest that refuse from the site is burned, either to clean the site or as fuel for fires. Medium and large spikes were not modified in large numbers. The spikes are generally thicker than the nails and this might make them harder to modify. The low number of curved spikes also suggests that they were not reused as often which might suggest that they were difficult to remove. They were also used in more permanent structures and therefore would likely not be replaced as often.

4.5 Nails at Inuit Sites

Iron was a highly sought commodity by the Inuit, Innu and Beothuk and was adopted into their pre-existing toolkits quite quickly. When John Guy arrived in Trinity Bay in 1612 he noted that the Beothuk were already using iron and other European materials (McLean 2003:1). Eventually Europeans began to manufacture iron goods specifically to trade with Aboriginals (McLean 2003:2). There is little to no evidence, however, to suggest that nails themselves were used as a trading good with the Inuit.

The Inuit have a long history of manipulating metal, dating back to their ancestors the Thule who manipulated meteoritic iron (McCartney 1991:30). By examining nails at different Inuit sites over the contact period, I looked for any changes in nail usage and any over-arching patterns that might suggest Inuit preferences of nail size. I also examined nails from the site of Nachvak Village, IgAx-3, in order to look for any discernible trading patterns of nails between Inuit groups in the south to those in the north. This study asks several basic questions concerning Inuit nail use. Did the Inuit prefer specific types or sizes of nails? Are the majority of iron goods on the site scavenged, or could they have been obtained through trade, either formally or informally? And lastly, do any differences in nails between the southern Inuit sites and the northern Inuit sites exist? If such differences do exist, what do they tell us about Inuit trade? This study will focus on the site of North Island 1 House B, but it will also use other sites to asses change in these patterns over time.

4.5.1 House 2, North Island-1, FeAx-3

North Island is part of the Dead Islands group in the mouth of St. Michael's Bay in southern Labrador which is full of small island groups that were home to both the Inuit and Metis (Figure 4.9). While many of the islands in this area, such as the Square Islands, were a base for Euro-Canadian fishermen, up until the cod moratorium of 1992, North Island was not. North Island has two Inuit sod houses that are roughly contemporaneous. This site was first noted during Stopp's 1991 survey of the southern Labrador coast (Stopp 1997:130). The site is located on the northern shore of the island and is sheltered from the winds and waves of the open ocean. Both houses are located in

a natural depression in the hillside, sheltering them from the prevailing winds. In 2009, both House A and House B were tested by Dr. Marianne Stopp and her crew as part of *Understanding the Past*. House A was located on a slope and, therefore, had suffered some erosion. Because of this erosion and the difficulty of excavating on a steep slope, House B was chosen as the focus for subsequent excavations. These excavations were carried out during the summers of 2009, 2010 and 2011. The interior of the house has been excavated along with the entrance tunnel. The majority of the house walls have not been excavated although some portions of the wall did collapse into the house.

Over the three field seasons, 386 nails were excavated from House B (Figure 4.13; Table 4.2). Of these, 27 were too fragmentary to determine a size. In addition there were small fragments of iron that could not be positively identified as nail fragments and were not included in the present counts. Iron artifacts including fishing hooks, projectile points, knife blades, portions of hoops from wooden barrels, and several large pieces of iron hardware were not included in this study.

The most significant characteristic of the assemblage was the high number of modified nails. Of the 386 nails that were examined almost half, 187 or 48 percent, showed some sign of modification. The modifications found in the nails from House B included clenched, cleated, curved, heads removed, J curved, bent tips, blunted ends, flattened and flattened with heads removed. If we remove the nails that have both their heads removed and blunted ends from the discussion (as these can occur from corrosion and post depositional processes) we are left with 82 (21 percent) modified nails. Although this type of modification was sometimes done on purpose it seemed prudent to remove the nails where this type of purposeful modification was not obvious to remove

the possibility of classifying corroding nails as modified ones. This is still a significant number. While some of the nails without heads likely occurred from corrosion, some seem to have been purposefully removed (Figure 4.10 a). The shafts on these nails were hammered flat below the head until it was flat enough to be removed from the rest of the nail. The Inuit cold hammered nails into many different traditional forms (Jordan 1978:176; McCartney 1991:30). This technique is not unlike the techniques used by the Beothuk to manufacture projectile points (McLean 2003:7). The remainder of the shaft is then fashioned into whatever tool or point is needed. McLean proposes that the short end was not discarded, but possibly used as a scraper. These modified nail heads and shafts are evidence of the intentional modification of nails and of the repurposing of these nails into different uses and forms.

In order to manufacture harpoon heads or knives and other tools, the nails had to be flattened. The preparation of nails for modification is clearly illustrated in the House B assemblage. Of the modified nails (having removed those that might have been the result of natural processes), 12 (15 percent) showed flattening along some portion or the entirety of the shaft (Fig. 4.10 b). A further 11 (13 percent) were flattened and was the head purposefully removed. This illustrates that nails were gathered not to be used as fasteners, but rather to be modified.

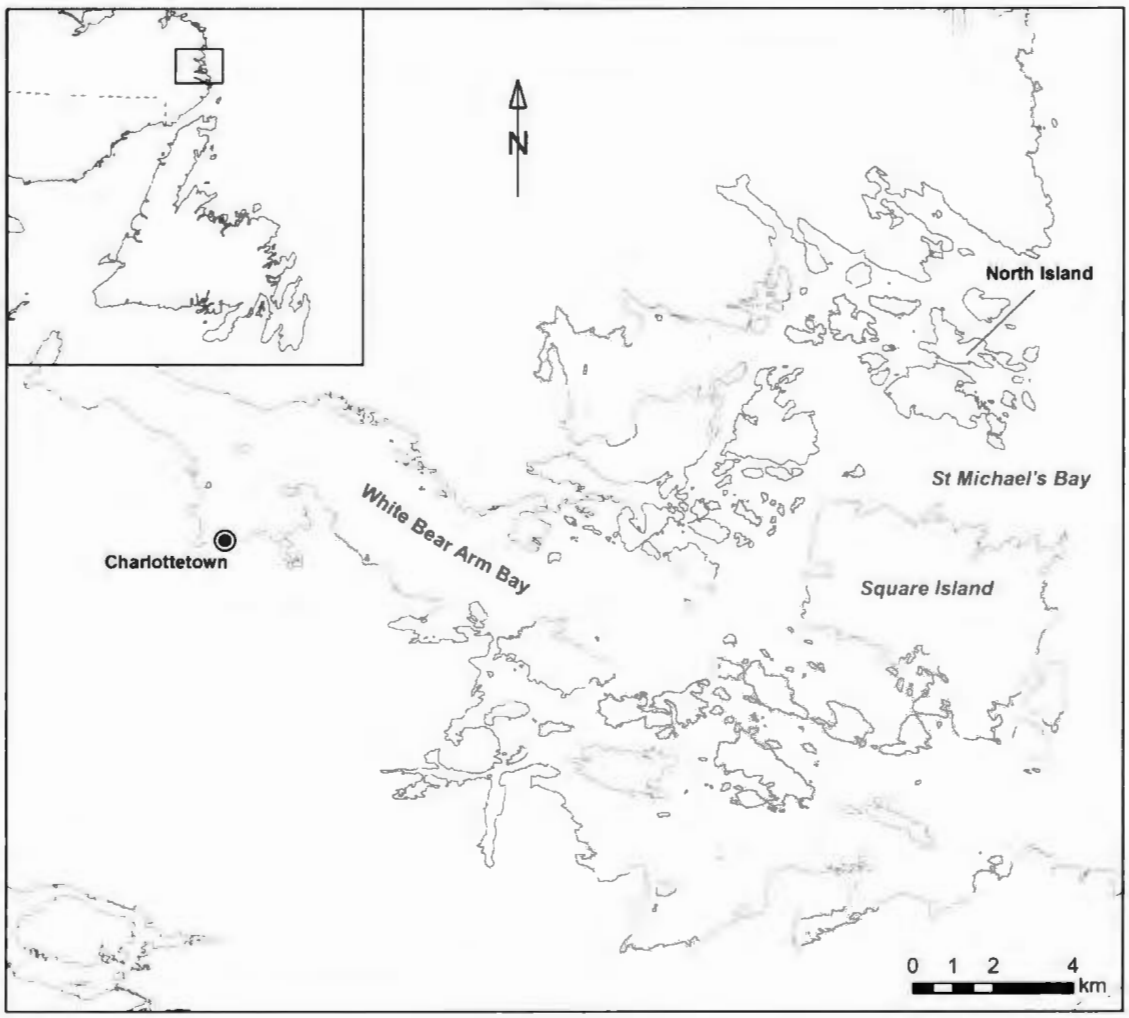


Figure 4.9 St. Michael's Bay, Labrador, showing the location of North Island in relation to the town of Charlottetown (Brynn Tapper for An Archaeology of the Petit Nord).

Evidence indicates that nails at House B were modified into traditional Inuit tools but many nails do not show evidence of modification. This suggests that these nails might have been stockpiled for future use or that nails were also used in the construction of the sod house. If nails were used in the construction of House B, we would expect to find large nails distributed fairly evenly around the edge of the house floor (Figure 4.11; Figure 4.12). The largest concentration of nails appears along the northern wall of the sod house. A total of 141 nails were found in 14 units, for a total of 37 percent of the entire collection. In addition to the number of nails found along the north wall, they were also found in close association with decomposing wood beams which suggests that the nails might have been used in the construction of the walls. However, the collapse of the walls into the house hampers studies of the nail usage in construction. Most of the spikes are found around the edges of the sod house (three were found in the interior of the house). This indicates that spikes were likely used to construct the sod house walls.

a.

b.

Figure 4.10 a) Curved nail with no head cat #203. Note the thinning near the proximal end of the nail shaft suggesting the nail head was purposefully removed. B) Flattened nail cat #19

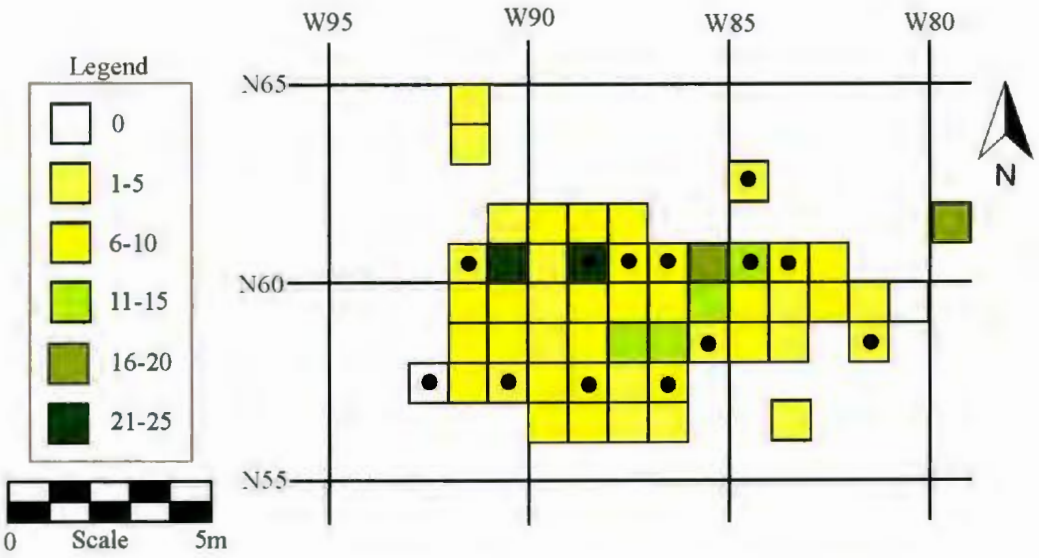


Figure 4.11 Nail Distributions at North Island, FeAx-3, House B. Units with spikes are indicated with a black dot (A total of 386 nails). Grid is on magnetic north.

Figure 4.12 House B at North Island, FeAx-3, facing north. (Marianne Stopp for CURA *Understanding the Past to Build the Future*)

The nails that the Inuit gathered were chosen based on the intended use of the nail. Would the Inuit, when gathering nails at European sites, choose spikes (to obtain more iron in one easily transportable item) or would they choose several smaller nails? The numbers show a preference for small and medium nails as they comprise 79 percent of the total assemblage for House B. It is possible that smaller nails were easier to modify. It is also possible that this size of nail was easier to obtain at the European sites. If structures were being destroyed to obtain the nails, we could infer that removing the smaller nails would be simpler and less time-consuming than removing spikes. The occurrence of curved and also J-shaped nails suggests that some of the nails at House B were reused. These shapes are likely formed during the removal of the nail from the wooden structures. It is possible that these nails were removed by the Inuit or discarded by the Europeans. None of the nails found in House B show evidence of burning, as we saw at Dos de Cheval (EfAx-09). Therefore, the nails at this Labrador site were not obtained by burning down European structures, nor were they heated in order to alter them. The Inuit of North Island show a preference for smaller nails, likely due to the ease of obtaining them from European sites and the ease of transforming them into tools. In general, smaller nails seem to be seen as more versatile than the larger spikes. In total fifteen spikes were found on the site, each in a separate unit. In general, spikes were found along the edges of the dwelling and they were used possibly by the Inuit in the construction of the sod house.

4.5.2 Comparative Inuit Sites

An additional four Inuit sites, House 2 at Indian Harbour (FkBg-3), House A at North Island (FeAx-3), House A and House B at Great Caribou Island (FbAv-13) and Nachvak Village (IgCx-3) were examined to see if the patterns found at House B at North Island (FeAx-3) would apply to other contact period Inuit sites (Figure 4.13; Table 4.2). The earliest site is House 2 at Indian Harbour on Huntingdon Island (FkBg-3). Based on preliminary analysis of artifacts and carbon dates, House 2 has been dated to the mid seventeenth century (pers. comm. Rankin). The house was completely excavated, including the floor, benches and entrance passage (Rankin 2011). Traditional Inuit artifacts, like a soap stone lamp and an iron ulu blade fragment, were found. The house had a large number of European items including nails, roof tiles and ceramics, and 105 nails were examined from this site. Like North Island House B, the majority of the nails are small and medium nails (80 percent) and 57 (54 percent) of the nails showed evidence of modification. If we exclude nails that might have been modified by natural processes, a significant portion of the collection, 38 nails (36 percent), still display evidence of modification. The most frequently occurring type of altered nail was flattened nails, at 23 nails, or 55 percent of the intentionally modified nails. The high percentage of flattened nails suggests that most nails were intentionally modified in order to produce iron tools.

The second site examined was House A on North Island (FeAx-3). This house is roughly contemporaneous with the previously discussed House B and dates to the early to mid eighteenth century. However, this house was not completely excavated and cannot proved a complete record of what may be present at House A. A total of 37 nails was recovered, making any discussion of nail counts tentative at best. Again, small and

medium nails composed the majority of the collection at approximately 70 percent. One distinct aspect of the House A collection is the low number of modified nails at five (7.4 percent). The modified nails are clenched and curved, and there is no evidence of flattened nails. Due to the fact that the site was only sampled, it is difficult to make any definitive statement about nail usage by the Inuit here. Based on the nails that are present it seems that the iron at this site was not being altered to the same degree as at House B at North Island. This suggests a slightly later date for House A at North Island as they were now able to obtain more European-made goods and did not need to take the time to modify nails into usable items.

The third site is at Great Caribou Island, FbAv-13, which has two contemporaneous sod houses that date to the late eighteenth century. These houses were not completely excavated and, therefore, the discussion here is based on a sample of nails rather than an entire assemblage. The first, House A, produced 166 nails. As with the other houses examined, the small and medium nails form the majority of the assemblage (60 percent). The nails found in this house were not flattened. Again, this suggests that nails were being used for building purposes rather than for modification. House B at Caribou Island produced only 42 nails. Again, medium and small nails formed the majority of the assemblage (approximately 73 percent) and of these no nails have been flattened. Instead, these houses have a higher frequency of clenched and curved nails. This suggests nail reuse as well as the use of nails in building.

The last site examined is Nachvak Village (IgCx-3) which is located in northern Labrador. There were several clusters of features at the site, dating to different time periods. The first houses were traditional sod houses, but the housing style eventually

shifted to ground level sod houses with timber frames (Cabak 1991:82; Kelvin 2011:104). This study will look at the earlier houses at Nachvak Village that date to the late pre-contact period up to 1700. Five houses were excavated at the site, but, due to the small amount of nails present, they will be considered as one assemblage. The site produced a total of 64 nails. Again, over half of the nails were small or medium (33 nails or 52 percent). The most common modification was the flattening of the nail shaft. The small amount of nails at the site and the presence of flattened nails support the idea that earlier in the contact period nails were viewed as a source of iron and not for their European purpose of holding things together. No difference was observed between the southern and northern Inuit sites in terms of nail types, suggesting that specific nails were not gathered from European sites for the long distance trade. However, more northern Inuit sites would need to be examined to confirm this.

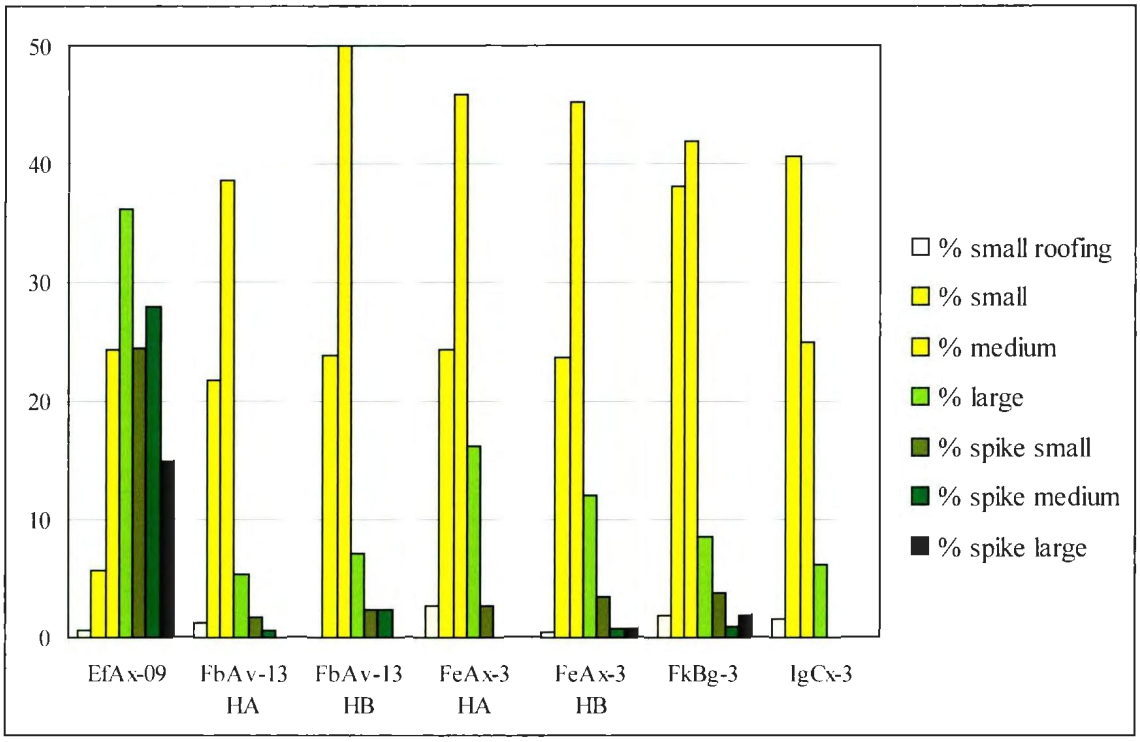


Figure 4.13: Nail counts (percentages) by site and size. (Unidentified nail counts are omitted for the purposes of this figure but the percentage of unidentified nails per site are given following the total number of nails per site EfAx-09 [514 - 2%], FbAv-13 HA [166 - 31%], FbAv-13 HB [42 - 14%], FeAx-3 HA [37 - 8%], FeAx-3 HB [387 - 13%], FkBg-3 [105 - 3%], IgCx-3 [64 - 26.56%])

Site	small (roofing)	small	medium	large
EfAx-09	3 (0.6 %)	29 (5.6%)	125 (24.3%)	186 (36.2%)
FbAv-13 HA	2 (1.2%)	36 (21.7%)	64 (38.5%)	9 (5.4%)
FbAv-13 HB	0 (0%)	10 (23.8%)	21 (50%)	3 (7.1%)
FeAx-3 HA	1 (2.7%)	9 (24.3%)	17 (45.9%)	6 (12.1%)
FeAx-3 HB	1 (0.4%)	94 (23.7%)	212 (45.2%)	38 (12.1%)
FkBg-3	2 (1.9%)	40 (38.1%)	44 (41.9%)	9 (8.57%)
IgCx-3 - total	1 (1.5%)	26 (40.6%)	16 (25%)	4 (6.25)

Site	spike small	spike medium	spike large	undetermined	total
EfAx-09	126 (24.4%)	28 (5.4%)	15 (2.9%)	2 (0.4%)	514
FbAv-13 HA	3 (1.8%)	1 (0.6%)	0 (0%)	51 (30.7%)	166
FbAv-13 HB	1 (2.4%)	1 (2.4%)	0 (0%)	6 (14.3%)	42
FeAx-3 HA	1 (2.7%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	3 (8.1%)	37
FeAx-3 HB	12 (3.4%)	3 (0.9%)	0 (0%)	27 (13.4%)	387
FkBg-3	4 (3.8%)	1 (0.9%)	2 (1.9%)	3 (2.9%)	105
IgCx-3 - total	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	17 (26.6%)	64

Table 4.2 Nail totals and percentages by site and size.

4.6 Conclusions

As the Inuit became more familiar with European nails, the manner in which they used nails shifted. Generally, archaeologists have assumed that European items simply replaced traditional Inuit items while they maintained their way of life. As contact with Europeans increased and became more peaceful, it is plausible that the Inuit began to adopt some European practices, such as using nails as fasteners in the wooden superstructure of their sod houses.

The frequency of different nail modifications at the different archaeological sites suggests a shift in the way the Inuit used nails. In the earlier sites, Nachvak Village and House 2 at Indian Harbour, the most common type of modified nail was a flattened nail. This supports the idea that nails were used as raw materials and that they were modified into traditional Inuit tools, like ulus. At House B on North Island there were some flattened nails, but there was a higher percentage of curved nails, suggesting that nails were being reused, perhaps in building houses or in repairing boats. Finally at the later houses, like House A and House B on Great Caribou Island, there were no flattened nails. This suggests a complete shift in how nails were used; that is, nails were now being used for building and were not being modified into tools. The shift in nail use, towards the normal European function of fastening wood, also suggests a shift in Inuit/European trading practices. The lack of modified nails suggests that it was no longer necessary for the Inuit to spend time making iron tools, and, therefore, must be obtaining them from another source, most likely through trade. The recognition by the European traders that iron tools would make a good trade item suggests an increased degree in familiarity and a desire to improve trade with the Inuit by providing them with the goods that they desired.

In 1783 items that Cartwright requested for trading with the Inuit included British-made iron items like arrow heads, dart heads, ulus and knives (Stopp 2008:75).

The second question about Inuit nail use addresses ideas of Inuit agency, that is, what nails they chose to gather from European sites. Other than Cartwright's mention of giving nails to the Inuit to help them build houses, I was unable to many references regarding Europeans giving or trading nails to the Inuit (Stopp 2008: 207). The only reference of Europeans bringing nails to trade comes from a document from the Moravian Missionaries Jens Haven, Christian Drachardt, Charles Hill and C. Schloezer who list spike nails and other nails along with rasps, files and knives as appropriate items to barter with the Inuit (Board of Trade and Plantations 1765). While Cartwright did give nails to the Inuit, he did not include nails in the list of items that were needed for trading with the Innu or Inuit (Stopp 2008:75, 172,178-179). This implies that nails were collected from European sites well into the period when contact between Europeans and Inuit was both ongoing and cooperative.

The collection from the archaeological site of Dos de Cheval (EfAx-09) demonstrates that all sizes of nails were available. While there were plenty of nails available, the ease of obtaining them for the Inuit might have been affected by the type of structures that they were imbedded in. This cannot be determined archaeologically, but it stands to reason that it would take less effort to remove the smaller nails from a structure. One could conclude that it would be easier to modify smaller nails into tools. The ease of modifying small nails might explain the higher percentages of small and medium nails at Inuit sites. However, if larger nails were loose on a European site, the Inuit would surely have collected them.

We know from historical documents that the Inuit in southern Labrador were trading goods along the coast to the northern Inuit communities. The most obvious difference among the sites is the relatively small amount of nails at Nachvak Village. However, it is possible that the low number of nails here has more to do with the fact that this site is early rather than a result of its northern location. Another possibility is that the trading between the southern and the northern Inuit was quite selective, and therefore, those in the north did not have the same amount of access to goods as those in the south. Like the southern sites, small and medium nails dominate the Nachvak Village collection. That small and medium nails consistently dominate the collections suggests that a separate trade pattern for nails in northern Labrador sites did not exist. That is, that nails that were collected and utilized by the Inuit in the south were also traded to the Inuit in the North. Therefore, any nails that were collected by the Inuit in the south could possibly have been traded to the Inuit in the north.

Modified nails were present at both European and Inuit sites. These modifications represent both intentional and incidental modification. On Inuit sites, the primary intentional modification involved flattening the nail and then modifying it into a tool. At Champ Paya, Breton fisher's intentional modifications did not occur as frequently as at Inuit sites. The Breton fishers did modify larger nails, while the nails modified at Inuit sites were generally small or medium nails. The nails modified by the fishers replaced fishing implements, like gaff hooks. More often seem to be modified unintentionally, likely as part of the act of reuse. The reuse of nails suggests that a finite amount of nails were available to each French crew, which in turn, limited the amount of nails that were available to the Inuit.

Chapter 5 Archaeological Analysis: Ceramics

5.1 Introduction and Methodology

Like nails, ceramics are utilitarian items. Unlike nails, ceramics take many different forms and styles and decorations and could be viewed as status pieces, as well as, utilitarian. Ceramics are an excellent tool for archaeologists, as their styles change frequently and reflect the shifting needs and wants of consumers. The appearance of certain ceramic styles at sites reflects the personal choices of the inhabitants of a site.

Like the nail study above, the ceramic study will examine assemblages from both European and Inuit sites. The goal of this study is not to create a catalogue for descriptive and technical purposes, but rather to examine what types of ceramics were available along the Labrador coast and how, when and in what context these ceramics entered Inuit society (Miller and Stone 1970:3). Patterns in the ceramic assemblages can also provide insight into the lives of the Europeans who occupied the coast. Changes in the assemblages at Inuit sites over time will also be examined to see if any changes in how the Inuit used, and incorporated ceramics into their households can be observed. However, issues with time lag and life span are especially important when looking at the incorporation of ceramics into archaeological contexts. Time lag can be defined as "the difference between the date of manufacture and the date of deposition" (Adams and Gaw 1977:218). The time between manufacture and deposition is its lifespan. In the case of ceramics in Newfoundland and Labrador shipping time and the reuse of ceramics by different cultural groups must be considered when discussing using ceramics to date sites.

In order to explore the social aspects of ceramic assemblages, a certain amount of description is necessary. Two basic criteria were used to examine the ceramic assemblages. The first was simple identification of the types of ceramics. This was done using type collections at The Rooms Provincial Museum and at the Archaeology Department at Memorial University. Secondly, I tried to determine the minimum number of vessels (MNV) for each ware type and, if possible, attempted to determine a vessel form. No statistical analysis of the sherds was conducted as the relevance of statistical analysis using sherd counts to determine vessel counts has been called into question (Sussman 2000). Instead, the MNV was determined by looking at the diagnostic features of the sherds (See Appendix 2 for vessels numbers by site as well as the corresponding catalogue numbers). It should be noted that this thesis will only briefly address trends in ceramic production and style changes and only when it pertains directly to the discussion at hand: the availability of ceramics along the coast and how these ceramics were obtained and then incorporated into different households.

In order to examine the availability and incorporation of ceramics along the Labrador coast a total of three ceramic assemblages were examined. These assemblages had been previously analysed and catalogued. The first site examined was the English site of Lodge 1 at Lodge Bay, Labrador. The ceramics at the French migratory fishing room Champ Paya excavated as the archaeological site of Dos de Cheval (EfAx-09) have already been studied extensively and this study was used as the basis for the French ceramics in the study area (St. John 2011). St. John's study included all of the ceramics from the waterfront, Area C, excavated in 2006, 2007 and 2008, except for the refined earthenware (REW). Using a morphological approach, this study created a ceramic

typology based upon the function of the vessels found at the site. This typology was used to link the ceramics to the "behavioural and cultural forces operating on the site" (St. John 2011:13). The majority of the ceramics at the site were French in origin. Some British ceramics were present, the result of the intermittent presence of British Newfoundland crews (Hatcher in draft). St. John's thesis was essential in my interpretation of the ceramics found at the Inuit sites. The other sites examined were Inuit sod houses on North Island and Great Caribou Island. Analysis at North Island and Great Caribou Island is still ongoing but some preliminary analysis and results have been presented by Dr. Marianne Stopp, who allowed me access to the ceramic assemblages (Stopp 2013).

5.2 Lodge 1, FbAx-4

Lodge 1 (FbAx-04) is located in the community of Lodge Bay, Labrador, along the Charles River (Figure 5.1). This site is believed to be the location of Captain George Cartwright's Ranger Lodge, his first merchant station in Labrador (Stopp 2004). Lodge 1 is located farther inland than the other sites I examined. The position of the post allowed for salmon fishing along the river, winter furring and still allowed for access to open water for sealing and cod fishing. Initial testing revealed a large amount of heat-damaged European material culture dating to the eighteenth century. The documentary record shows that Ranger Lodge burnt down in 1772 and the heat damaged artifacts add further credence to the idea that this site was indeed Cartwright's first merchant station (Stopp 2004:3). Following the 1772 fire, Cartwright relocated his habitation downriver. In the summer of 1774 Cartwright built a new residence, along with several other buildings at Stage Cove (McAleese 1991:4). The site of Ranger Lodge was used for salmon fishing

until attacks by privateers in 1778 (Stopp 2004:18). Thus, the site of Lodge 1 is extremely useful. It had a short occupancy, less than ten years (1770-1778), and was used for trading with the Inuit, as Cartwright noted in his journal that the fire burnt "all the goods for the Indian trade" (Stopp 2004:16, 18).

This site represents a trading post as well as the home of a rather wealthy British merchant who was used to living in some comfort, even bringing his housekeeper Mrs. Selby along with him to Ranger Lodge (Stopp 2004). It seems likely that the collection will consist of both utilitarian and more decorative ceramics, reflecting the status of Cartwright.

Test excavations were carried out in 2002 by Dr. Marianne Stopp. She identified an area with a rich concentration of artifacts. In total, $5m^2$ were excavated in this area with an additional 4 test units placed around the site (Stopp 2004)[12]. This assemblage proved to be rather difficult to work with for several reasons. The first, and most obvious, is the damage caused by the fire. In some instances, ceramics and glass have melted together into large clumps making any identification attempts futile. Specific ceramic types were also difficult to determine, as the fire discoloured the ceramics, damaging the glazing and, in some cases, obscuring any decorations. For many of the ceramics only a broad classification of the ware type was possible. As the site was only sampled and since many of the ceramics found were melted out of shape, reconstructing vessels also proved to be quite difficult. However, this site was able to illustrate the kinds of ceramics one would expect to find at a British merchant's household.

[12] See Stopp 2004 for further details regarding the excavations at Ranger Lodge.

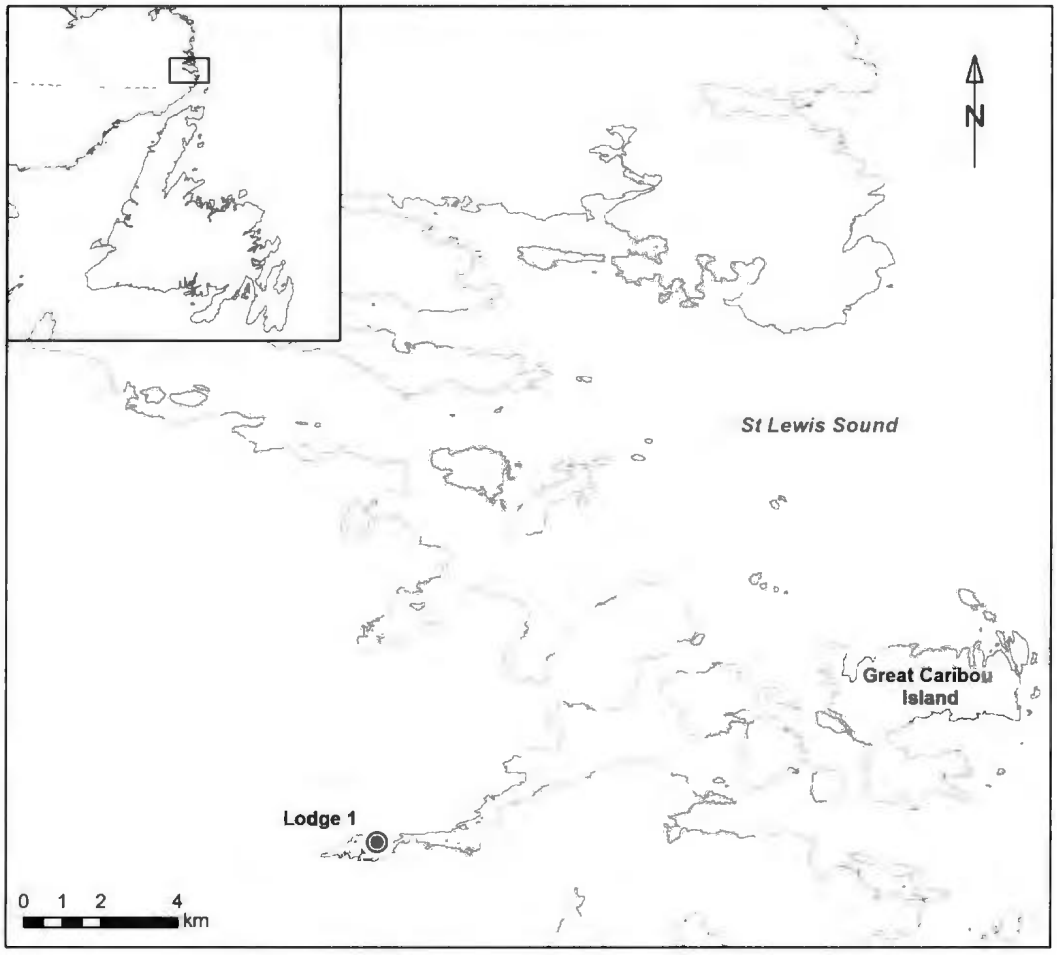


Figure 5.1 Charles River area, with Lodge 1 and Great Caribou Island highlighted (Brynn Tapper for An Archaeology of the Petit Nord).

5.2.1 Earthenwares

5.2.1.1 Tin Glaze

The ceramic assemblage had at least five tin glazed earthenware vessels (TGEW)[13]. Identifying TGEW vessels was particularly difficult, as the fragile nature of the tin glaze left many sherds with little to no glaze at all. Sherds were often identified as tin glazed based on the similarities between the fabric of non-glazed sherds and glazed sherds. Vessel 1 is represented by 61 fragments, most without any glazing. The fabric of these sherds ranged in colour from buff to beige. These sherds could represent two vessels, or the different colours of fabric might be evidence of discolouration caused by the 1792 fire. As the texture of the fabric was similar, they were grouped together as one vessel. The tin glaze that was present was white and two of the sherds had a blue strip suggesting some sort of pattern. Vessel 2 consists of nine reddish-brown sherds. These sherds had no glazing but the fabric was similar to TGEW vessels in the type collection at The Rooms. Both vessels were very fragmented and no vessel form could be reconstructed.

The remaining three vessels all had blue tin glazes. The third TGEW vessel consists of six sherds. These sherds had a buff to brown fabric with a steel blue glaze (Figure 5.2 a). One of these sherds has a thick rim and it is possible that this was a plate. Vessel 4 consisted of nine sherds which have a lighter blue-grey tin glaze with incised lines (Figure 5.2 b). These pieces were quite worn and no pattern to the lines could be discerned. No vessel could be constructed and there were no diagnostic pieces.

[13] See Appendix 2 for a complete list of vessel numbers and ware types for Lodge 1.

However, all of the pieces are flat and it is possible that this was some form of flatware. The fifth tin glaze vessel is represented by a single piece of tin-glaze with a pale blue glaze. This piece was very fragile and had evidence of underglaze decoration.

5.2.1.2 Staffordshire

There are two sherds of Staffordshire slipware. They both have the diagnostic yellow slip with brown stripes. The fabrics of the sherds are different; one is more porous than the other, suggesting two separate vessels (Vessels 6 and Vessel 7). Again, the sherds were too small and were not diagnostic; therefore, it was not possible to determine a vessel form.

5.2.1.3 Creamware

During the late eighteenth century, refined earthenware tablewares, including creamware, became increasingly popular and were easily accessible to many levels of society (Barker 1999). Identification of these wares at Ranger Lodge was again hampered by damage from the fire. The period of occupation falls during the transition between white salt-glazed stonewares and creamwares in the British markets. Creamware and white salt-glazed stoneware have very similar pastes with the chief difference being the kiln temperature (Noël Hume 1969:123). In some cases the fire damage made it difficult to identify the ware type, but these distinctions were made to the best of my abilities. Vessel counts of creamware are complicated, as a design might be present in the centre of the ceramic, but this design might not extend out to the edge of the vessel.

a.

b.

Figure 5.2 Lodge 1 TGEW vessels a) Vessel 3 b) Vessel 4

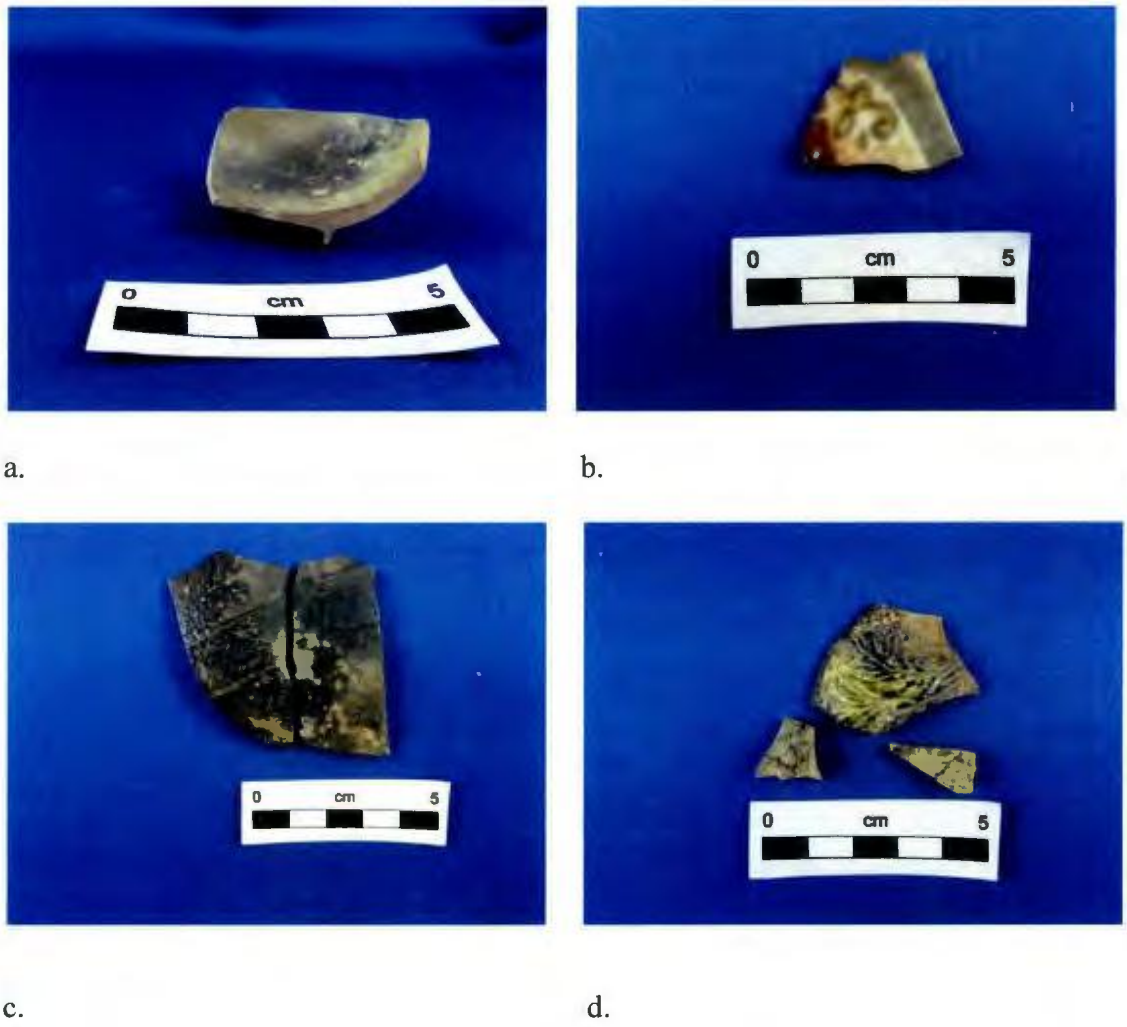
There were at least eight creamware vessels present at Ranger Lodge (Vessel 8-15). Vessel 8 was a small bowl or tea bowl represented by a single large sherd (Figure 5.3 a). The glazing on this bowl has turned slightly grey, but this is likely a result of fire damage as opposed to it being part of an intentional design. There were a large number of plain creamware sherds in various sizes (n=52). Another fourteen sherds could be categorized as possible creamware. Some of these were hollow while others were flat. It was difficult to determine if these were part of the other vessels or if these constitute their own vessel, so they were not treated as a separate vessel. A further four vessels (Vessels 9-12) were represented by a few sherds and no vessel forms could be determined. Vessel 9 had a green tinge to the glaze and was represented by three sherds. Vessel 10 consists of three sherds with traces of a blue painting. Vessel 11 is a hollow sherd with grey designs on both the interior and exterior. The design seemed to be simple lines but the sherd was not big enough to determine if there was more to the design. Vessel 12 consists of a single sherd with a scalloped edge.

The last three vessels can be identified as specific creamware designs. Vessel 13 is a single sherd with a grey fabric. The exterior of the sherd is exfoliated and no glaze is left. The interior of the sherd has a green border around the edge with a floral motif in green, yellow and brown handpainted underglaze design. The colours and design are similar to samples of Whieldon creamware, which were produced from the 1750s to the 1770s (Figure 5.3 b) (Noël Hume 1969:123-124; Maryland Archaeological Conservation Lab [MAC Lab] 2002). Vessel 14 consisted of two sherds which mended. These sherds were so fire damaged that the original glaze colour could not be determined. A raised annular design ran around the vessel (Figure 5.3 c). This pattern on creamware vessels

was called dipped creamware and it appeared in the last quarter of the eighteenth century (MAC Lab 2002). These sherds were quite curved and tall, suggesting a jar or jug type vessel. The last vessel (vessel 15) consists of three sherds with a relief floral pattern. The glaze is a mottled blue and green, which is typical of Whieldon ware. The colour scheme along with the relief pattern resembles the Whieldon Wedgewood cauliflower style creamware, which was popular in the latter half of the eighteenth century (Figure 5.3 d) (MAC Lab 2002; Miller and Stone 1970).

5.2.1.4 Coarse Earthenwares

The coarse earthenwares found at Lodge 1 consisted of small fragments and most of the vessels were represented by a few sherds. There were at least four coarse earthenware vessels (Vessels 16-19). A specific ware type could not be determined for vessels 16-18. Vessel 16 is a beige earthenware, vessel 17 is a red earthenware, and vessel 18 is a buff/red earthenware with an annular design. These vessels consisted of less than ten sherds each and no vessel form could be determined. The nineteenth vessel identified consists of 169 sherds. This vessel has a fine buff fabric, with a sandy texture. It has a yellowish-green lead glaze on the interior of the vessel. The exterior has no glaze or slip but instead seems to be brushed smooth. The base of the vessel is about 12cm in diameter, suggesting a fairly large pot or jug. This vessel closely resembles Verwood-type ceramics, based on the glaze and the sandy texture of the fabric (Temple 2004:35-36; Gaulton pers comm.). Verwood-type ceramics were produced in England from the seventeenth century and were typically large utilitarian vessels (Temple 2004:35).



a. b.

c. d.

Figure 5.3 Examples of Creamware vessels from Lodge 1. a) Vessel 8, small bowl or tea bowl. b) Vessel 13, a sherd of Whieldon creamware. c) Vessel 14, dipped creamware sherds. d) Vessel 15, Whieldon Wedgewood cauliflower style creamware.

5.2.1.5 Unidentifiable REW or RSW

There are at least two vessels of unidentifiable REW or RSW. These vessels have an orange peel-like texture suggesting that they might be salt-glazed stoneware (RSW), however, the presence of hand painted decorations makes this identification contentious. The heat from the fire has also made any specific REW identifications difficult. Therefore, these vessels have simply been classified as unidentifiable REW or RSW.

The unidentifiable REW or RSW category consists of a small plate and a tea cup (Vessel 20 and 21). This vessel identification is based on the slightly different angles extending down from two separate rim sherds. The vessels are light grey in colour with a very fine orange peel texture to the glazing. Both vessels have a multi-coloured hand painted floral design. The plate, vessel 20, has the design on the interior of the vessel near the rim. The rim sherds of vessel 21, the cup, have the floral pattern on the exterior of the vessel (Figure 5.4 a). This floral motif is present on bottom of the interior of the cup (Figure 5.4 b). It is possible that this is a matching tea cup and saucer, suggesting that tea culture was important to Cartwright (Figure 5.4).

5.2.2 Stonewares

5.2.2.1 Assorted Coarse Stonewares

There were a number of more utilitarian coarse stoneware (CSW) vessels at the site. At least three salt-glazed vessels (vessels 22-24) could not be identified to a specific ware type. The first, vessel 22, was a light grey salt glaze. One piece was curved with a small hollow, which suggests it was part of a narrow neck, likely a jug. The second vessel (vessel 23) is represented by a single beige sherd, which was not diagnostic.

Finally, vessel 24 consists of dark grey salt-glazed sherds. These did not match any of the other grey salt-glazed sherds and, therefore, were classified as a separate vessel. Again, no vessel form could be determined

The second type of salt-glazed wares resemble Rhenish stoneware. This German ware was quite common in England and was almost exclusively utilitarian (Noël Hume 1969:276). None of the sherds present were of the more decorative Rhenish style, so they may well be English Brown CSW (Pope pers. comm.). All of the sherds (n=5) were a brown, almost honey coloured, ceramic suggesting a single vessel (vessel 25). One was a diagnostic shoulder sherd. The profile of the sherd suggests a large, closed vessel.

The third type of stoneware resembles French Beauvais stoneware (Crompton pers. comm.). While it might seem incongruous for a French vessel to be present at a British site, it was not uncommon for this style of French stoneware to be present on sites in Britain. It is also possible that the vessel is a Sieburg-type ware, as they have almost identical fabrics (Hurst et al. 1986:105). At least three vessels (vessels 26-28) of this type are present. The first (vessel 26) has a lighter grey fabric with some red staining near the base of one sherd. Vessel 27 is represented by two sherds. One is a base sherd with the exterior wall extending upwards at an almost 90° angle. The second sherd is curved quite severely and might be a shoulder sherd. If this is the case, then the vessel is likely a tall, closed vessel. The third vessel (vessel 28) of this type is a dark brown, almost black colour, with a pebbled, orange peel appearance to the exterior surface of the vessel. There are 60 sherds of this ware. Many of these sherds mend. A large portion of the rim was reconstructed by previous researchers. The interior diameter of the mouth opening

was 12cm, suggesting a large open storage vessel. The body of the vessel directly below the shoulder is decorated with several simple annular designs (Figure 5.5).

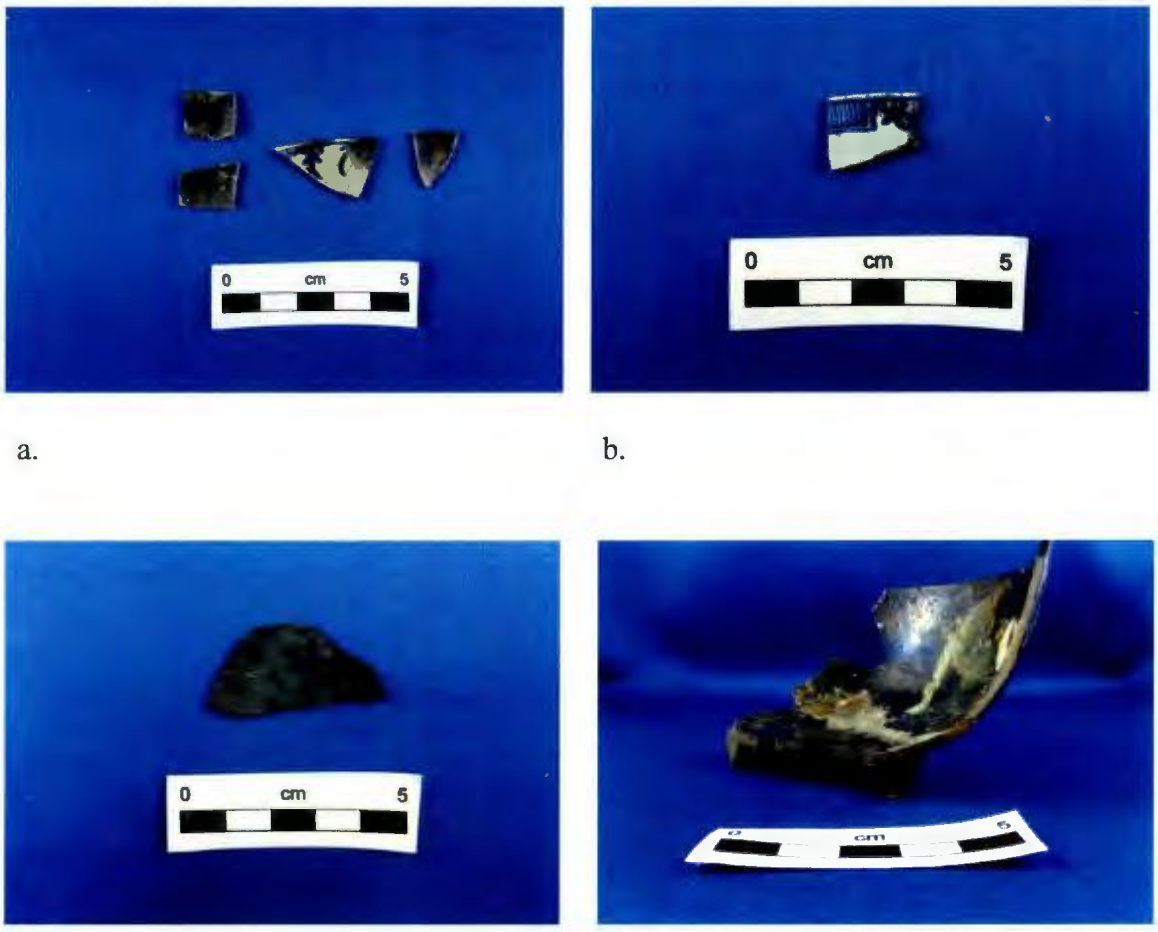
5.2.2.2 Porcelain

There were a minimum of eight different porcelain vessels in the ceramic assemblage from Lodge 1 (vessels 29-36). I was unable to determine if they were Chinese, Chinese Export or British made porcelain. The first vessel (vessel 29) consists of four thin, curved sherds of white porcelain with cobalt blue underglaze decorations (Figure 5.6 a). These decorations had a floral and linear pattern directly under the interior rim. The pattern and curvature of the sherds suggests that this might be a tea cup. Vessel 30 is represented by one sherd and also had blue underglaze designs. The design is on the interior of the rim but the pattern is more linear than floral (Figure 5.6 b). Again, this could be part of a tea cup. Vessel 31 consists of a single sherd with a large handpainted blue underglaze flower in the middle (Figure 5.4 c). This sherd was very flat and quite large. This suggests that it was part of the base of a larger vessel, perhaps a plate. Vessel 32 is a rim sherd with red underglaze decoration on the interior of the rim.

a. b.

Figure 5.4 Stoneware sherds from Lodge 1. a) Vessel 21, exterior. b) Vessel 21, interior.

Figure 5.5 Vessel 28 French Beauvais or Sieburg-type CSW vessel from Lodge 1.



a. b.

c. d.

Figure 5.6 Porcelain vessels from Lodge 1. a) Vessel 29. b) Vessel 30. c) Vessel 31. d) Vessel 36.

The three other porcelain vessels had relief moulding patterns on them. British manufacturers of the eighteenth century focused on mass produced porcelains, including blue and white transfer prints and relief moulded designs (Victoria and Albert Museum 2012). One of the vessels has a floral relief moulded pattern on the exterior (vessel 33). The three sherds form the curved wall of a small hollowware vessel, likely a tea bowl or small bowl. Vessel 34 has a relief moulded design across the whole interior, as well as cobalt blue hand-painted decorations. The exterior might have had blue, green and red decorations as well but it hard to tell if this was on the vessel or simply melted onto the vessel due to the fire. This sherd is flatter and was part of small flatware vessel. Vessel 35 is a curved rim sherd, likely part of a small bowl. This vessel has a foliate cobalt blue underglaze pattern directly below the rim on the interior of the vessel. Below the blue foliate border the rest of the interior has a foliate relief moulded pattern. The last porcelain vessel is a small bowl 9 (vessel 36). It has a dark blue glaze across the entire vessel (Figure 5.6 d). The exterior of the body has a floral relief pattern around the middle of the vessel.

5.2.2.3 English Redware

A single sherd of English Redware was identified in the assemblage (vessel 37). This sherd was not at the Rooms with the rest of the assemblage and, therefore, this discussion is based on the information contained in the artifact catalogue as well as personal communications with Stopp (2013). Although this sherd was not examined with the rest of the collection at the time of this study it was included due to its unique characteristics. Vessel 37 is comprised of a highly decorated sherd which makes up part

of a handle and the body of the vessel. The decorations on the handle and the body seem to mimic those found on silverware of the time, including moulded sprigged roco motifs and a woven motif. This type of stoneware and decorations were commonly found on teapots which were produced in England from 1763-1775 (Richardson 2013).

5.3 Inuit Sites

5.3.1 House B, North Island (FeAx-3)

5.3.1.1 Coarse Stonewares

5.3.1.1.1 Normandy CSW

Normandy CSW is the most frequent single ware type present in the House B assemblage from North Island. It is a highly fired, non-porous stoneware that is ideally suited for the long term storage of foodstuffs and is commonly found on seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth century French sites in North America, such as Louisbourg and Champ Paya (St. John 2011:100-102). The assemblage at Champ Paya is made up almost entirely of utilitarian vessels, particularly those used in the storage and transportation of foods. The two main areas of production for stoneware in Normandy were Bessin-Cotentin and Domfront. The vessels from Bessin-Contentin are characterized by a wine red fabric while the fabric of Domfront vessels are usually a beige to beige-brown (St. John 2011:102). The exteriors of the vessel have a wide range of colours including various shades of grey, brown, dark grey-blue, beiges and even a dark-orange shade (Biancamaria 1997:99).[14] The colouring on the exteriors is inconsistent across the

[14] As cited in St. John 2011:104

vessels and as such it can be difficult to match sherds together. Most varieties of Normandy CSW are well made, but some are poorly fired and display distinct coloured layers in cross-section (St. John 2011:104). In some cases, distinctions between Domfront and Bessin-Cotentin were possible to make, but in the cases where I was unsure the vessels are simply classified as Normandy CSW.

The site produced at least eleven Normandy CSW vessels; however, none could be mended to form complete vessels.[15] Of the eleven vessels, nine were represented by bases and a further two were determined by rim fragments. Two other pieces are diagnostic but it could not be determined if they were separate vessels or if they matched the other vessels. The functional system used by St. John at Dos de Cheval focuses on rim morphology to help determine vessel function. Thus it is difficult to determine the exact functions of most of the vessels.

Vessel 1 is a small circular vessel with a diameter of 70mm. The glaze of this vessel has separated from the buff fabric suggesting that it is Domfront CSW that was poorly fired. The walls of the vessel rise up almost vertically from the base. This is likely a small closed vessel (St. John 2011:128).[16] St. John uses the term closed vessel to "describe vessels that were composed of only a base sherd or an indistinct rim when all we can say about the vessel is that it is closed rather than open" (St. John 2011:134).

Vessel 2 is based on base sherds. This vessel has a light grey fabric with a pink slip on the interior. The exterior of the vessel is a brown-grey and seems to be discoloured. This vessel is possibly from the Domfront region (pers. comm. St. John;

[15] See Appendix 2 for a list of North Island House 2 ceramics.
[16] See St. John 2011 for a discussion of Normandy CSW vessels types.

pers comm. Stopp). The base of the vessel has a diameter of 130mm. The walls extend out from the base at approximately 20 degrees. This base seems to resemble the *sinot* vessels described by St. John, which were common at Champ Paya, but again, it is difficult to determine without more of the vessel (St. John 2011:115-121). The sherds for this vessel were all found within one alcove in the house and, while this vessel is incomplete, the absence of any matching sherds in the assemblage suggests that this vessel was obtained in its incomplete form (Figure 5.7).

There are at least six more closed vessels (vessels 3-8). These vessels were based on base fragments. Some of these vessels have more than one base fragment, however; none of these fragments mended, but rather were matched together based on colour, thickness of the base and wall profiles. Four of these vessels (3, 4, 6 and 7) have diameters of about 60mm. Some of these diameters are approximations as the sherds are quite small and, therefore, obtaining an exact measurement was difficult. The base of Vessel 4 is composed of three base sherds that are matches, as well as a highly curved sherd that is also a match. This highly curved piece is likely a neck sherd and at its broadest can be classified as a tall-closed vessel that is with a neck but without a handle and could possibly be a bottle (St. John 2011:114). Vessels 3, 6, and 7 can only be classified as small closed vessels. Vessels 5 and 8 did not have a large enough portion of the base for a diameter to be determined and are also classified as closed vessels.

Vessel 9 is defined by both a base and a diagnostic body sherd. The fabric of this vessel is a deep wine colour that is characteristic of the Bessin-Contentin kilns. The base of the vessel has a diameter of 70mm. A matching sherd has an attachment on the

exterior for what we can presume was a handle. Therefore, this vessel can be classified as a closed vessel with a handle.

The last two vessels are comprised of two different rim sherds. Vessel 10 has a large handle extending from the lip of the rim. The size and thickness of the sherd seems to indicate that it was a separate vessel. It resembles a *sinot* type vessel (St. John 2011). As the majority of the vessel is not present, the vessel form cannot be determined further. Vessel 11 is a small, brown rim sherd of the Domfront kilns. This sherd has a distinct profile that matches St. John form c162, a large *sinot,* with a neck and without a handle (St. John 2011:120-121). This vessel closely resembles vessels found at Lousibourg and the form seems to be common on pre-eighteenth century French sites (St. John 2011:120-121).

Figure 5.7 North Island Vessel 2, an incomplete Domfront *sinot*. (Chelsee Arbour for CURA *Understanding the Past to Build the Future*.)

Figure 5.8 Normandy CSW sherd, likely used as an oil lamp. (Chelsee Arbour for CURA *Understanding the Past to Build the Future*).

Finally, within the Normandy CSW assemblage are two distinct objects. I use the term objects as these ceramics have been modified and are used for a different purpose. The two objects are curved pieces of Normandy CSW that have a thick layer of residue on both the inside and outside surfaces (FeAx-3:252; FeAx-3:350a-d). Unfortunately, residue analysis was outside the scope of this study. These sherds were likely used as replacements for the traditional Inuit soapstone lamps, since no soapstone was found within House B. These sherds are curved in such a manner that they would hold a sufficient amount of oil to serve as a lamp. The use of bowls as oil lamps has been recorded among the Inuit (Figure 5.8) (Cabak 1991:123; Brewster 2005:26-27; Murphy 2011:80).

These vessel counts are on the conservative side. If anything, the base sherds represent more vessels, rather than fewer. The Normandy stoneware vessels found at North Island, House B are typical of the ceramic forms found along the French Shore of Newfoundland and by the French crews arriving in Labrador post 1713.

5.3.1.1.2 White Salt-glazed Stoneware

White salt-glazed stonewares were mass produced in the eighteenth century. The designs and patterns on salt-glazed stonewares have definitive dates of production and these are very helpful in dating sites. However, one must be cautious about using dates of production as the date of a site, since years can pass between the production of an item and its deposition on an archaeological site.

The white salt-glazed stoneware assemblage at House B consists of at least 5 vessels totalling a total of 34 sherds (vessels 12-16). Vessels 12, 14 and 16 are plain salt-

glazed vessels. Vessel 12 is a small cylindrical vessel with a diameter of 50mm. The walls rise from the base at a 90° angle. This vessel is likely a small storage jar. Vessel 14 is the base of a vessel. The walls of the vessel extend out from a footring suggesting a low, hollowware vessel like a plate or a bowl. Vessel 16 is a flat portion of a base. The wall of the base rises up from the base at almost 90°, however, there is not a sufficient portion of the base to determine a vessel form.

Of particular interest are Vessels 13 and 15. Vessel 13 is a virtually complete soup plate with a base diameter of 120mm and a rim diameter of 220mm. This vessel has a scalloped rim with a bead and reel pattern (Figure 5.9). Bead and reel style rims were produced in the mid-eighteenth century (Noël Hume 1969:116). Vessel 15 is the rim of a vessel that also has a scalloped edge and bead and reel pattern. However, the bead and reel on this sherd is flatter. The rim has the same shape as vessel 13 and it is possible that it is also a soup plate. It seems unlikely that a large, intact bowl like vessel 13 would have been left behind at a European site to be scavenged by the Inuit. It is possible that this bowl was a trade item, or maybe a gift.

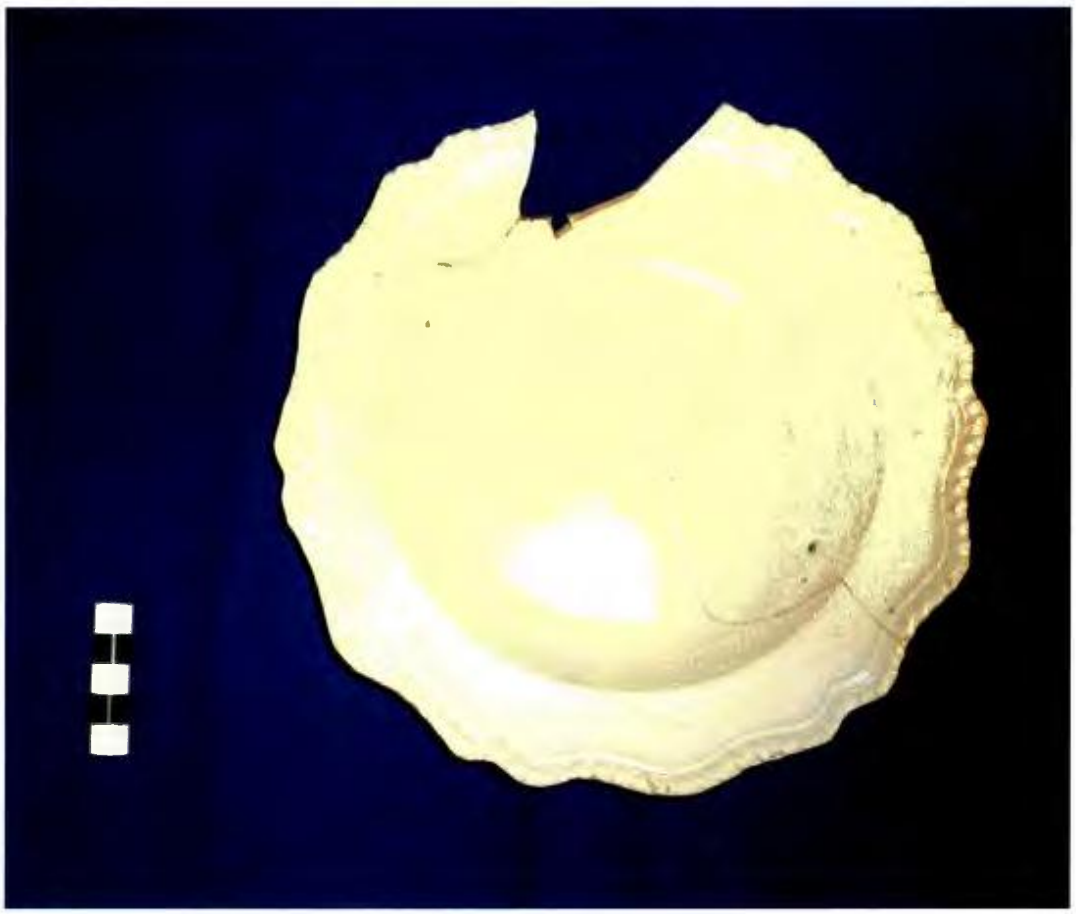


Figure 5.9 Vessel 13, a salt-glazed stoneware soup bowl with a bead and reel rim. (Chelsee Arbour for CURA *Understanding the Past to Build the Future*.)

Salt-glazed stonewares were manufactured in England. Despite their English origin, they are commonly found on French sites in North America as French crews used English REW and RSW (St. John 2011). Therefore, it is difficult to determine if salt-glazed vessels found on Inuit sites were obtained from French or English crews. Given the date of the bowls' production, in the mid-eighteenth century, and the time lag and life span of the object, the vessels at North Island likely moved along the Labrador coast around in the mid or late eighteenth century. This date corresponds to the transition between French and English dominance along the coast and does not clarify the immediate source of the salt-glazed soup bowls. However, given the dominance of French ceramics at North Island, it seems likely that this salt-glazed soup bowl was obtained from a French crew towards the end of their occupation of the coast.

5.3.1.2 Earthenwares

5.3.1.2.1 White Tin Glazed Earthenware

There are at least seven different TGEW vessels (vessel 17-23). Most of these vessels were identified by a single sherd. There are also several fragments of plain tin glaze that did not have any fabric adhered to it. These fragments could not be positively matched to any vessel. The tin glazed vessels were very fragmentary and only one vessel was complete enough to determine a vessel form. Vessel 17 is represented by a thick sherd of brown earthenware stained black with a blue tinged tin glaze that is present on both the interior and exterior of the vessel. Vessel 18 is a rim sherd with a buff fabric and thin white tin-glaze. While it is hard to state conclusively because of its size, it could be part of a flatware rim. Vessel 19 has a buff fabric with a blue and grey tin glaze which

seems to be discoloured, likely from exposure to heat. The sherd was too small to determine a vessel form. Vessel 20 is a single base sherd that has a square profile. The sherd is smooth and seems to be almost water worn with white tin glaze only present on the interior of the sherd. Due to the size of the sherd, no vessel shape could be determined.

Two sherds had hand painted designs. Vessel 21 is represented by a single flat sherd of buff earthenware with a white tin glaze and blue hand painting. The sherd was not large enough to determine a vessel form or distinguish a pattern. The tin glaze was only present on one side of the sherd, likely the interior of the vessel. A single flat sherd with a white tin glaze and hand painted leaf design was also part of the assemblage but, due to the fragmentary nature of the assemblage, it is possible that this sherd is part of one of the vessels already mentioned and was not considered an additional vessel (FeAx-3:610). The outline of the leaf is a burgundy colour while the leaf is filled in with green. The tin glaze on this sherd is only present on one surface, likely the interior of the vessel. Most of the white tin glazes have a buff to brown fabric. Vessel 22 has a brick red fabric with a thick white tin glaze on both the interior and exterior. The piece is small and no vessel form could be determined.

The most significant piece in the white tin-glazed assemblage is a small bowl with a floral hand painted pattern on the bottom of the interior of the vessel (vessel 23). The exterior is also painted and has a wave type pattern across most of the bowl with plain borders along the foot of the vessel. The hand painted line pattern on the interior resembles rim patterns found on Normandy blue on white faience and the bowl is most likely French in origin (Figure 5.10) (Center for Archaeological Studies' Old Mobile

Archaeology 2001; Pope pers. comm.). Normandy blue on white faience dates from 1690-1785 and is characterized by stylized borders and floral motifs (Walthall 1991:86). The vessel is divided in half and shows no evidence of heat. Given the design of the bowl, and the fact that half of the vessel is missing, I would posit that this piece served a decorative rather than utilitarian purpose and might have been obtained through trading.

5.3.1.2.2 Brown Faience Tin-glazed Earthenware

Brown faience is a specific type of earthenware with a white tin-glazed interior and a brown manganese lead-glazed exterior (Walthall 1991:84). There is at least one brown faience vessel in House B (vessel 24). This vessel is very fragmented and it is possible that there is more than one vessel. All of the sherds have a fine, almost sandy texture to the salmon coloured fabric and likely represent a single vessel. Some of the sherds have both the white and brown glaze while others just have one of the glazes. Three of the sherds are part of a base and this, as well as the number of sherds suggests a small closed vessel like a jar. There is no evidence of decorations which suggests that this vessel is a Rouen plain ware, which dates from 1740 – 1790 (Walthall 1991:93).

5.3.1.2.3 Lead glazed Earthenware Vessel

One piece of earthenware has brown manganese lead glaze on both the interior and exterior of the vessel (vessel 25). The glaze on this rim is a red-brown. This rim sherd is quite thin and likely comes from a finer vessel but again, no form could be determined.

a.

b.

Figure 5.10 North Island, Vessel 23, faience bowl. a) exterior. b) interior (Chelsee Arbour for CURA *Understanding the Past to Build the Future*.)

5.3.1.2.4 Saintonge-Type Earthenware

There is one sherd of Saintonge-type ceramic in the assemblage (vessel 26). This piece is the neck and mouth of a bottle (Figure 5.11). The diameter of the mouth opening is slightly larger than the diameter for a small bottle as defined by St. John (2011:125). However, the Champ Paya collection does not have many examples of Saintonge-type ceramics. This piece resembles an earlier style of Saintonge-type. There is no white slip under the glaze and the glaze is not the typical apple green that is present on later examples. Saintonge style ceramics were manufactured from the seventeenth century on (Brassard and LeClerc 2001:28-29).

5.3.1.2.5 Miscellaneous Earthenwares

There are at least ten unidentifiable earthenware vessels. All of the vessels were too fragmentary to determine a vessel form. Vessel 27 is a brown-red fabric with black staining on all surfaces. Vessel 28 is a terra cotta rim with tiny inclusions in the fabric. On the rim are remnants of a beige slip with a buff glaze on top. Vessel 29 is a buff fabric with a brown-orange glaze. Vessel 30 is a brick red fabric with a brown-red glaze on the concave surface. The convex side is brushed smooth. Vessel 31 is fine beige fabric with a brown glaze on the convex surface and a yellow-orange glaze on the concave surface. Vessel 32 is a salmon coloured fabric with mica inclusions. Both sides of the vessels have been smoothed. Vessel 33 is a fine terra cotta with a yellow-orange glaze. Vessel 34 is a coarse terra cotta ceramic with staining. Vessel 35 is composed of 2 "P" profiled rim sherds. These sherds are a fine terra cotta with brown staining with a light yellow glaze. Vessel 36 is an off white fabric with large terra cotta and brown

inclusions. The glaze is a brown-yellow with large brown dots and is only present on the interior. The exterior has been smoothed and is stained with black, making it appear browner. This ceramic resembles St. John's coarse white unidentified fabric (St. John 2011:88). The vessel includes a base fragment but there is not enough to determine a vessel shape and it can only be classified as a closed vessel.

There are also two objects shaped out of coarse earthenware. The first is coarse brick red earthenware that has been shaped into a roughly square shape (FeAx-3:305). The second is a buff fabric that has been shaped into a semi-circular peg (FeAx-3:730). While the purpose of these pegs is unknown it is clear that ceramic sherds were intentionally modified.

5.3.2 Great Caribou Island (FbAv-13)

The ceramics from FbAv-13 are from two Inuit sod houses. These houses were not extensively excavated and, therefore, the ceramic assemblages were small, with a total of 22 sherds. However, it does allow for an examination of what kinds of ceramics were available during this period. The vessels from these houses will be addressed together.[17]

[17] See Appendix 2 for a list of vessels and their corresponding artifact numbers from Great Caribou Island.

Figure 5.11 North Island Vessel 26, saintonge-type bottle neck. (Laura-June Zinck for CURA *Understanding the Past to Build the Future*).

House A had a total of at least two, perhaps three vessels. Vessel 1 is a pearlware vessel which is a refined earthenware (REW). The glazing illustrates the characteristic blue pooling around the footring of the vessel, with a fine white fabric. Blue underglaze hand-painted decorations are present. The interior surface of the vessel has part of what appears to be a larger image, one sherd has grass painted on it suggesting a nature scene (Figure 5.12 a). Around the interior of the rim is a hand painted pattern of two lines with a cloud design between them. The sherds are rather flat suggesting a form of flatware. Vessel 2 is a creamware vessel. Only one sherd was diagnostic, a rim sherd. Based on the fineness of the sherds, this vessel was likely tableware and not a storage vessel. The third vessel is represented by a single sherd of white-glazed, white-bodied refined earthenware. The sherd was very small. It is possible that it was from a different part of the first vessel or it could constitute a separate vessel.

House B has a similar ceramic assemblage. Vessel 4 is a buff refined earthenware with a grey slip and painted blue underglaze pattern. The pattern consists of crosshatches near the rim with a cloud design below the cross-hatches. These designs are present on both the interior and exterior of the vessel. The presence of patterns on the interior and exterior, along with the curve of the sherd suggests that this was hollowware. The surface of the vessel is rough but is not salt-glazed. It is possible that the grey colour of the slip on vessel 4 was due to use over its life and does not reflect its original state and that it might also be pearlware (Figure 5.12 b). Vessel 5 has a buff fabric with a white glaze. The glaze has a slight blue tinge, typical of pearlware. The pattern on this vessel is similar to vessel 4. It has an underglaze blue cross-hatched design. However, the pattern under the cross-hatches is more triangular than the semi-circular cloud design. The

sherds are also thicker. Despite the differences in the glazes the similarities between vessel 4 and vessel 5 suggest that they might have been a matching set. Vessel 6 is creamware and is represented by a single curved sherd. A vessel form could not be determined.

Both House A and House B have finer, non-utilitarian ceramics. The presence of pearlware suggests that the sites were occupied at some time in the early nineteenth century. The presence of finer ceramics might suggest a shift towards the practice of displaying goods by Inuit women, as well as their adoption of tea (Cabak 1991:123).

a.

b.

Figure 5.12 Great Caribou Island ceramics. a) Vessel 1, pearlware. b) Vessel 4, possible pearlware.

5.4 Discussion and Conclusions

The ceramics found at the Inuit sites can be directly linked to the most prominent European presence in the area according to the period. Ceramic vessels at the earlier site of North Island, FeAx-3, are predominantly French in origin, closely resembling the assemblage from Champ Paya, while the later site at Great Caribou Island, FbAv-13, displays ceramics that are typically found at English sites, such as those at Lodge 1.

I would propose that the collections from North Island and Great Caribou Island represent a change in how ceramics were procured by the Inuit. The vessels identified at House B, North Island were predominately defined by the presence of base sherds, this is especially true of the Normandy CSW vessels. The high occurrence of base sherds vs. rim sherds in the assemblage suggests that the vessels were obtained as incomplete vessels. This is not an uncommon occurrence as the collection of Normandy CSW at House 3 on Huntingdon Island also has a higher occurrence of base vs. rim sherds (Murphy 2011:80). If these were obtained as incomplete vessels then it stands to reason that ceramics were obtained through gathering rather than through trade. While the Inuit might have accepted partially broken ceramics as trade items it seems more likely that intact items would have been preferred for trading. In fact, Cartwright advised other merchants not to trade bad or damaged goods and that if the goods broke that they should offer them a replacement (Stopp 2008:176, 201). Cartwright believed that trading high quality goods would encourage trust between the groups. This is not to say that some trading of ceramics, either broken or intact, did not occur, but rather that ceramics were not always obtained as a trade good. As already mentioned, much of the trading between the Inuit and the French seems to be quite spontaneous, that is it was not a directed effort

on the part of French fishermen. When an opportunity to trade with the Inuit arose, the French were sure to capitalize on this, trading what they had. More complete vessels (i.e. vessels represented by rims and not just by bases) might have made their way into the material culture of the Inuit in this way.

The collection at North Island is composed almost entirely of French wares. The exception to this is the white salt-glazed vessels, in particular the almost complete soup bowl. While these vessels are English in origin they were commonly used by French fishing crews. Given the date of the soup bowl (mid to late eighteenth century) this vessel could be from newly arrived English traders and represent the transition from a French to English coast. As the English presence became more permanent along the coast, it seems more likely that their ceramics were obtained by trading, as opposed to scavenging. The shift towards trading for ceramics would have been necessary as the English presence along the coast was permanent while the French presence was seasonal, allowing less opportunity for scavenging from abandoned sites. Another possibility is that these ceramics were a gift to encourage trading and create a peaceful environment between the English and the Inuit. The argument for a shift towards ceramics being obtained though trade and direct contact is strengthened by the stronger presence of rim sherds at Great Caribou Island, FbAv-13. While the ceramic assemblage from this site is relatively limited there are more rims present, which also suggests the presence of complete vessels.

A shift can also be seen in how the Inuit viewed ceramics and how they used them. The majority of the ceramics found in House B at North Island are utilitarian vessels. Many of the bases had staining which suggests these were used as cooking pots.

These vessels were simply used in place of the traditional soap stone cooking pots, used for making traditional foods (Cabak 1991:100-101). As the Inuit adopted European foodways this would lead to an increased demand for ceramics that could be used in various ways. An example of this is the popularity of tea among the Inuit. Tea drinking quickly became popular among the Inuit, and with this came an increase in tea related ceramics (Cabak 1991:110, 114). The presence of the finer earthenwares at Great Caribou Island, reflects the changing uses of ceramics, as they were now needed for the non-traditional activity of tea drinking. Ceramics were also seen as decorative items. Women would display ceramics on shelves in their homes (Cabak 1991:123). Objects like the white salt-glazed soup bowl and the half faience bowl were perhaps valued more for their decorative value than for their actual usability.

There is also a distinct difference in ceramic types between the French migratory fishing site and the English trading post. Of course there are obvious differences, the French site having French ceramics and the English site having English ceramics. What is more relevant here is that the Lodge 1 assemblage seems to have more decorative wares as opposed to the largely utilitarian nature of the ceramic assemblage from Dos de Cheval. This might reflect the level of comfort that the occupants of the sites expected during their stay in Newfoundland and Labrador. The majority of the ceramics found at the Champ Paya fishing room are utilitarian, with the exception of some of the ceramics found in the officer's cook room (St. John 2011). The fishing crews were composed of lower class men who were working in harsh conditions and would not normally use higher end ceramics. In contrast, George Cartwright was a comfortable British merchant who, even in Labrador, still enjoyed the finer things in life. The presence of his

housekeeper Mrs. Selby suggests the level of comfort that Cartwright expected to live in. It is also possible that Mrs. Selby thought that it was her duty to maintain a certain level of propriety to reflect the status of her employer.

Chapter 6: Conclusions and Suggestions for Further Research

Using an approach that combines ethnohistorical research and archaeological analysis, this thesis examined the interactions among the different cultural groups in southern Labrador and Newfoundland's Great Northern Peninsula. Traditionally these areas have been studied separately, as they are physically distinct bodies of land, divided by the Strait of Belle Isle. Past studies have also focused exclusively on one or two individual cultural groups. The practice of viewing the Strait of Belle Isle as a division and of studying cultures separately creates the false sense that these cultural groups existed in a physical and social vacuum (Loring 1992; Pratt 1992). By looking at culture contact in a more holistic way, it can be seen as an ongoing process of interactions, instead of a string of individual events (Galloway 2006; Lutz 2006).

Within the study area, several distinct cultural groups interacted over a period of many centuries. The earliest encounters between Europeans and Aboriginals began with the Norse presence at L'Anse aux Meadows around, AD 1000. These encounters recorded in the *Vinland Sagas* are quite vague, and the location and exact nature of the cultural interaction is hard to determine. Any contact that occurred around L'Anse aux Meadows would probably have involved the Beaches of Little Passage peoples. These encounters were quite brief and often ended in bloodshed. Within a decade the Norse were no longer frequenting Newfoundland. The interactions between the Norse and the Aboriginals that they knew as the *skraelings* did not have time to develop into a substantial or regular trading relationship.

Cultural interactions in the study area increased exponentially with the growth of European commercialism and the rediscovery of North America in the late fifteenth century. Europeans were not the only new group moving into Labrador. During this period, the Thule/Inuit made their way down the coast of Labrador. This movement by the Inuit shifted the territorial boundaries of the Innu, who moved farther south and began to use the interior to a greater extent (Fitzhugh 1977; Loring 1992). While it is next to impossible to determine the exact nature of the Innu/Inuit interactions during this period they seem to have been negative, as the historic period Innu warned Europeans about the violence of the Inuit. Prehistoric interactions between the Innu and the Inuit thus directly influenced the perceptions of the incoming Europeans. As the Innu had an earlier presence in the Strait, they likely met European groups more frequently and had a larger influence on their perception of the Inuit than vice versa. Early in the contact period the Innu developed on-going, cooperative relationships with both the French and the Basques. The relationship between the Innu and the Inuit remained confrontational. The cooperative relationships developed between the Innu and the French/Basques might have influenced how the Inuit approached the French. As the French were friendly with the Innu, the Inuit likely viewed the French with a sense of distrust and wariness, which promoted violent encounters.

As one would expect, the earliest interactions were sporadic. Interactions between the Innu and Europeans, particularly the Basques, quickly transformed into regular, cooperative interactions which included the Innu assisting with the Basque whaling operations (Barkham 1980, 2001). Interactions between the Inuit and Europeans

remained sporadic and quite violent. Some of these interactions were more indirect, while others obviously involved direct contact between the two groups.

Early European presence in the study region was seasonal. European crews would arrive for the whaling and cod fishing seasons in the spring and then leave with their catches in the fall. This provided a large, unprotected, wealth of European objects that could be acquired by Aboriginals without the need to interact with Europeans. Both the Inuit and the Boethuk were well-known for scavenging items such as iron from abandoned European sites. Interactions between the French and the Inuit remained tense because neither group needed the other. Relationships are developed out of a mutual need. The French did not need Inuit expertise for survival or for help with the migratory fishery, and the Inuit did not need to interact with the French to gain access to European goods. Therefore, there was no need to work towards a more peaceful relationship (c.f. Pastore 1987, 1989). The relationship between the French and the Inuit remained intermittent and confrontational until the late eighteenth century.

With changing European politics the French expanded their fishery into Labrador. This meant that they had more contact with the Inuit. It was now necessary to develop some sort of relationship with the Inuit as the fishery itself could not operate properly with continued violence between the groups. The British became a presence in Labrador in the late eighteenth century. The British presence in Labrador was more sedentary than the previous French presence. Part of the British agenda in Labrador involved trading with the Aboriginal inhabitants and establishing sedentary fisheries. These different motives necessitated a more peaceful relationship with the Inuit. Merchants, like George

Cartwright, were able to develop cooperative and on-going, direct interactions with the Inuit. To facilitate the sedentary fishery, the British tried to remove the Inuit from southern Labrador. To do this they allowed the Moravian Church to establish missions in the north. These missions also had trading posts. Despite this northern source of goods, the Inuit continued to venture south.

The archaeological portion of this study focused on two specific classes of artifacts, iron nails and ceramics. Both of these artifacts are essentially European utilitarian items. By examining both European and Inuit sites this study explored what was available in the study area and how these items entered and were incorporated into Inuit society.

The French migratory fishing room of Champ Paya, the archaeological site of Dos de Cheval (EfAx-09), served as the basis for the study of European nails. The analysis of the nails showed that all sizes of nails were available at the site in significant quantities, although spikes did occur in smaller frequencies. Therefore, the availability of nail sizes at European sites did not influence Inuit choices. Nail modifications were also examined at Dos de Cheval. Most of the modifications seem to reflect the use of nails in a naval setting, clenched and cleated modifications, or the reuse of nails, curved or J-shaped modifications. While the French seemed to have an abundant amount of nails they still had to reuse nails. Therefore, we can infer that nails were valued by the French and that there was a finite amount of nails available to each crew in Newfoundland. Thus, the destruction of their buildings and stages to gain these nails would have been frustrating

for them, which could only have hurt the possibility of establishing a relationship with perceived scavengers, like the Inuit.

The Inuit sites show a clear preference by their occupants for small and medium nails. Dos de Cheval (EfAx-09) had a wide range of nail sizes in comparison to the Inuit sites, which leads me to believe that smaller nails were preferred. Many of the nails in the earlier sites were flattened in preparation for their transformation into tools. This practice seems to have been abandoned in the later assemblages as they could now obtain iron tools instead of fabricating them. Despite this there was still a large amount of nails. I would suggest that nails were still being scavenged but were being used by the Inuit for constructing the wooden portions of their winter sod houses.

The ceramics studied also illustrated changes in relationships between the Inuit and Europeans. The ceramics at North Island, FeAx-3, reflect the dominance of the French in the study area during the late seventeenth and early to mid eighteenth century. Most of the vessels at the site were represented by bases rather than rim fragments. This suggests that ceramics were probably obtained as incomplete vessels and were probably obtained through scavenging. The collection at Great Caribou Island, FbAv-13, illustrates a change in Inuit ceramic sensibilities. The earlier wares were almost entirely utilitarian vessels and could be used as cook pots or as oil lamps, but the later assemblages include fine tea wares. The Inuit had adopted tea by this period and their ceramics reflect this shift (Cabak 1991). The presence of a greater proportion of rim sherds, as opposed to the earlier sites where vessels were represented almost entirely by base sherds, suggests that more vessels were obtained intact. This suggests that ceramics

were now objects of trade. Cultural interactions are complex, and they are constantly shifting. The ethnohistorical record sheds light on the shifting relationships in the study area. These shifts were echoed in the changes in nails and ceramics on Inuit sites in the study area.

The ceramics at the European sites also shed light on the various European lifestyles in Newfoundland and Labrador. The French ceramics from Champ Paya were mostly utilitarian, even if finer ceramics were found around the officer's cook room. Ceramics at Lodge 1 had a higher percentage of fine ceramics to utilitarian wares. It seems that since Cartwright expected to stay for a longer period than the migratory fishers that he wanted to live in the comfort he was accustomed to, as opposed to the French fishers who seem to be willing to live with less at least prior to the later nineteenth century.

There are still many aspects of culture contact in the study that remain unexplored, such as the influence of the Moravian mission and other trading posts on the flow of goods between Inuit groups in the south to those in the north. Archaeological research in southern Labrador continues. Further exploration of Inuit and Innu sites in the Strait of Belle Isle can only add to the discussion. While this study focused on the archaeological footprint of the Inuit, examination of historic Innu sites would contribute a different perspective. I hope this study can be seen as a starting point for a broader archaeological examination of cultural interactions in the study area.

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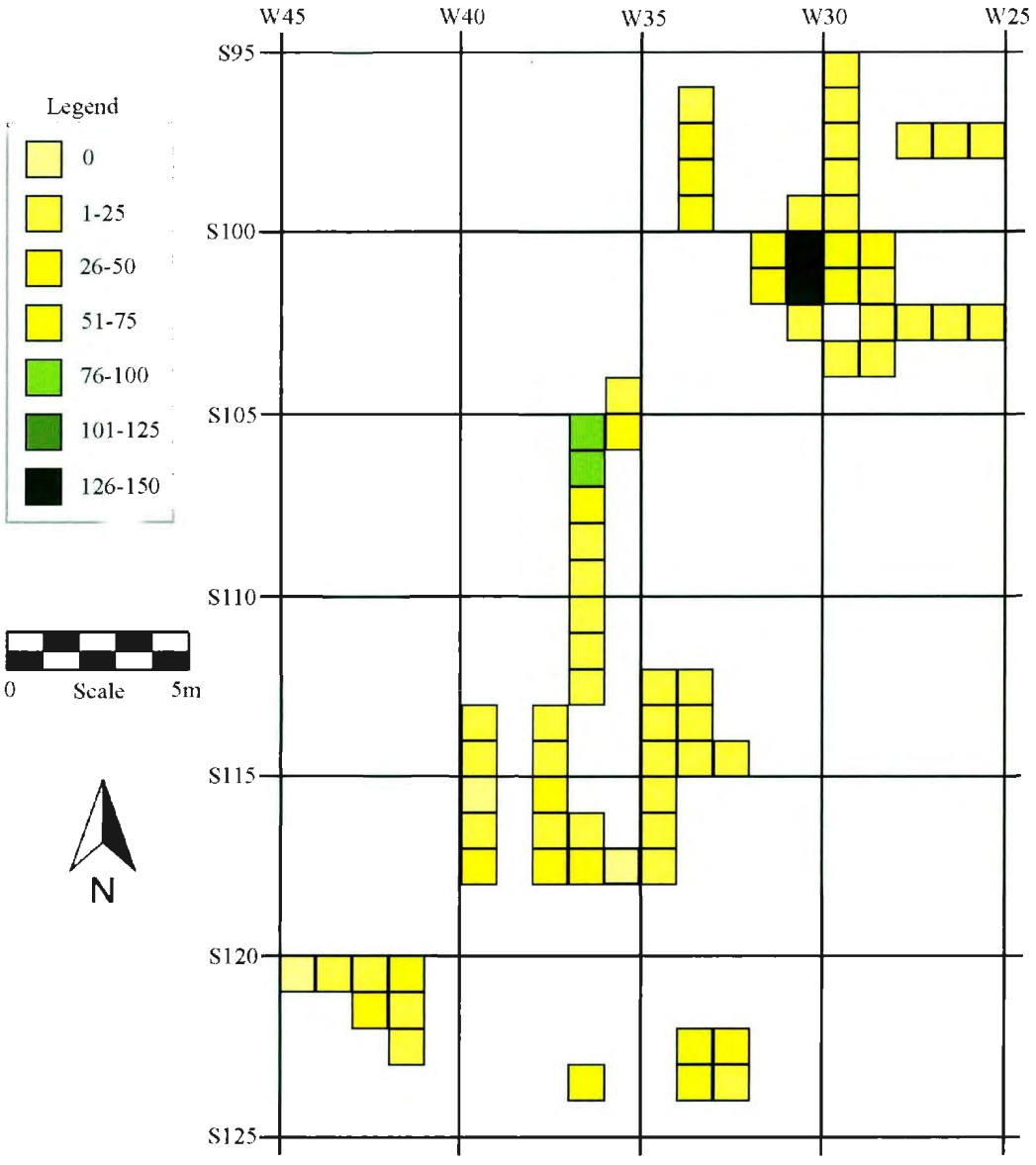
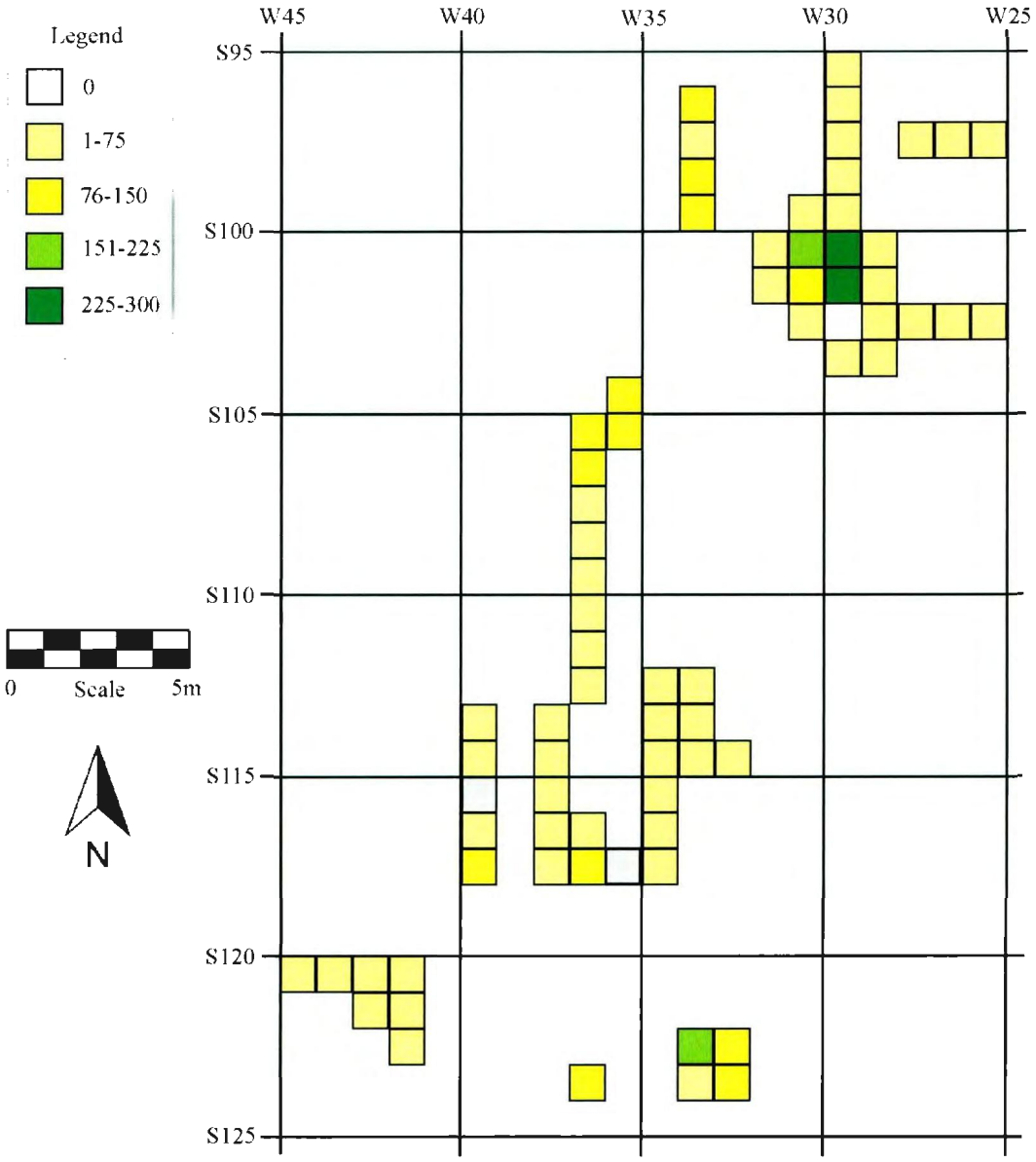
Appendices

Appendix 1. Distribution of nails at Dos de Cheval (EfAx-09)

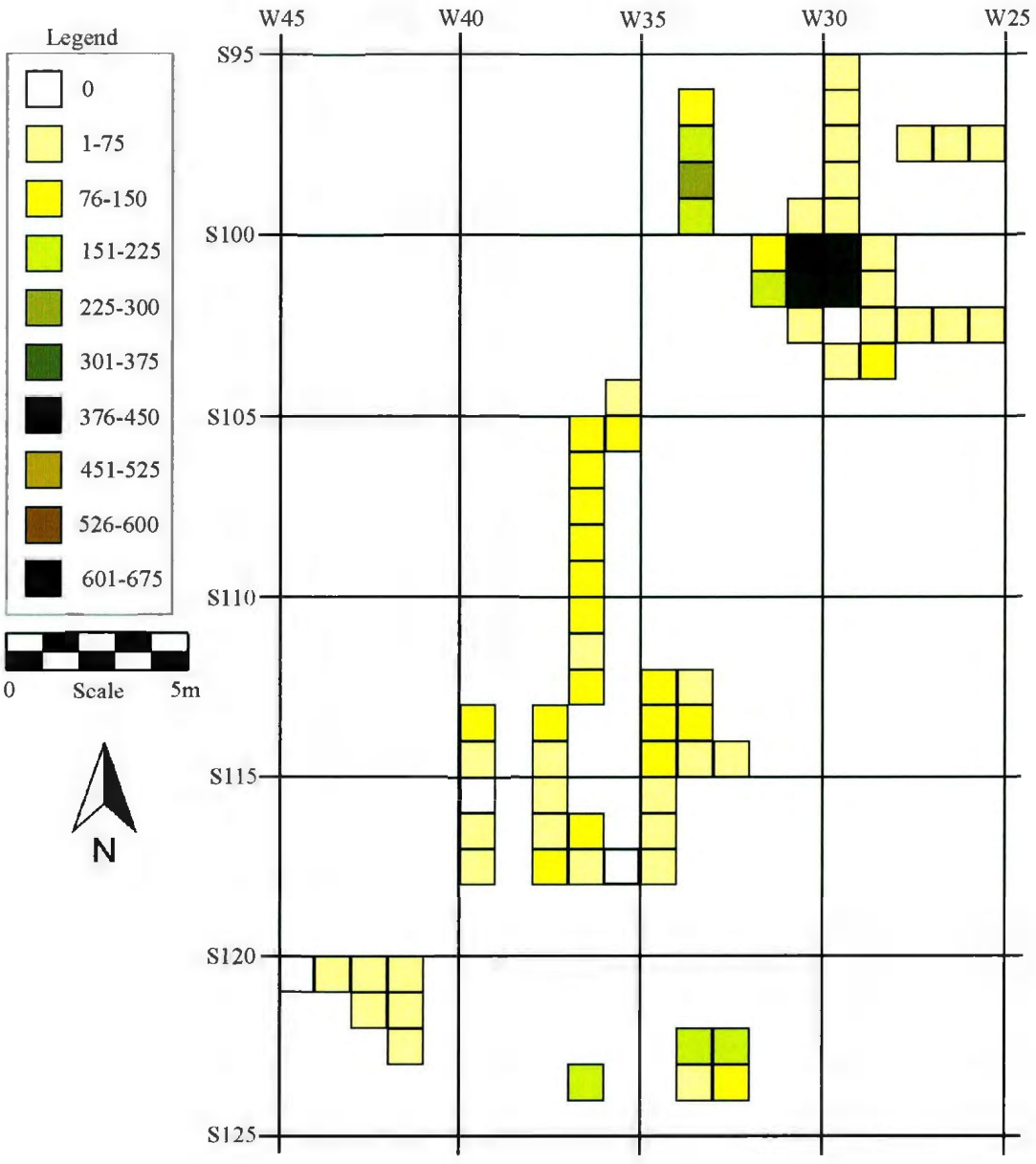
Distribution of large nails



Distribution of medium nails



Distribution of small nails



Appendix 2. Vessel number, ware type and vessel form

Lodge 1 (FbAx-4)

Vessel Number	Ware Type	Vessel Form	Artifact Numbers
1	Tin glaze	not determined	FbAx-4:65; 68; 71;192; 199; 323a,b;330
2	Tin glaze	not determined	FbAx-4:192; 199; 268;214
3	Tin glaze	plate	FbAx-3:116; 235; 323
4	Tin glaze	plate	FbAx-4:116; 220; 235a,b; 323
5	Tin glaze	not determined	FbAx-4:235
6	Staffordshire	not determined	FbAx-4:72
7	Staffordshire	not determined	FbAx-4:308
8	Creamware	tea cup/bowl	Fbax-4:48
9	Creamware	not determined	FbAx-3:103
10	Creamware	not determined	FbAx-3:249
11	Creamware	hollowware	FbAx-3:112
12	Creamware	not determined	FbAx-4:197
13	Creamware	not determined	FbAx-4:90
14	Creamware	jar/jug	FbAx-4:118; 120; 146
15	Creamware	not determined	FbAx-4:101; 312
16	CEW	not determined	FbAx:50; 51
17	CEW	not determined	FbAx-4:87
18	CEW	not determined	FbAx:218a-i
19	Verwood-type	pot or jug	FbAx-4:242
20	unidentifiable REW or RSW	plate	FbAx-4:47; 55a,b
21	unidentifiable REW or RSW	tea cup	FbAx-4:32; 86a,b; 173; 217b
22	unidentiified saltglaze CSW	jug	FbAx-4:182; 183; 184; 185; 198; 339
23	unidentiified saltglaze CSW	not determined	FbAx-4:57
24	unidentiified saltglaze CSW	not determined	FbAx-4:178; 193
25	Rhenish Type	large, closed vessel	FbAx-4:60; 153;186; 212
26	Sieburg/Beauvais Type CSW	not determined	FbAx-4:105; 154; 176; 231; 246
27	Sieburg/Beauvais Type CSW	tall closed vessel	FbAx-4:17; 175

Vessel Number	Ware Type	Vessel Form	Artifact Numbers
28	Sieburg/Beauvais Type CSW	large open vessel	FbAx-4:85; 125;172; 181; 273; 277b
29	Porcelain	tea cup	FbAx-4:89a,b; 163; 216a
30	Porcelain	tea cup	FbAx-4:285
31	Porcelain	plate	FbAx-4:251
32	Porcelain	cup?	FbAx-4:153
33	Porcelain	tea bowl/small bowl	FbAx-4:91a,b,c
34	Porcelain	flatware	FbAx-4:111
35	Porcelain	bowl	FbAx-4:100
36	Porcelain	bowl	FbAx-4:67; 113; 119; 256
37	English Redware	Teapot	FbAx-4:73

House B, North Island (FeAx-3)

Vessel Number	Ware Type	Vessel Form	Artifact Numbers
1	Domfront CSW	small closed	FeAx-3:737
2	Domfront CSW	sinot	FeAx-3:286
3	Normdandy CSW	small closed	FeAx-3:740
4	Normdandy CSW	tall-closed vessel without a handle	FeAx-3:192; 219;456; 524; 745
5	Normdandy CSW	closed	FeAx-3:739; 749
6	Normdandy CSW	small closed	FeAx-3:223; 243
7	Normdandy CSW	small closed	FeAx-3:214; 502
8	Normdandy CSW	closed	FeAx-3:446
9	Bessin-Contentin CSW	closed vessel with a handle	FeAx-3:222;442
10	Normdandy CSW	Sinot	FeAx-3:113
11	Domfront CSW	c162 large sinot with a neck and without a handle	FeAx-3:746
12	White Salt-glazed	small closed storage jar	FeAx-3:166; 738
13	White Salt-glazed	soup bowl	FeAx-3:266; 593
14	White Salt-glazed	low open vessel - plate or bowl	FeAx-3:429
15	White Salt-glazed	soup bowl	FeAx-3:742; 743
16	White Salt-glazed	not determined	FeAx-3:767
17	white tin glazed	not determined	FeAx-3:240
18	white tin glazed	flatware	FeAx-3:521a,b
19	white tin glazed	undetermined	FeAx-3:312
20	white tin glazed	undetermined	FeAx-3:770

Vessel Number	Ware Type	Vessel Form	Artifact Numbers
21	white tin glazed	not determined	FeAx-3:787
22	white tin glazed	not determined	FeAx-3:428
23	white tin glazed	bowl	FeAx-3:151; 342; 343; 344; 345; 346; 347
24	brown faience	small closed vessel	FeAx-3:187; 471; 478; 653; 672; 772; 780*
25	maganese lead glaze	not determined	FeAx-3:528
26	saintonge-type	bottle	FeAx-3:736
27	brown-red CEW	not determined	FeAx-3:598; 599; 600; 601;718; 719; 720; 721; 705
28	terra cotta	not determined	FeAx-3:165
29	buff fabric with brown-orange glaze CEW	not determined	FeAx-3:185; 318; 352; 356
30	brick red with brown-red glaze CEW	not determined	FeAx-3:220; 249; 262; 287
31	fine beige with brown glaze CEW	not determined	FeAx-3:261
32	salmon with mica CEW	not determined	FeAx-3:450
33	terra cotta CEW	not determined	FeAx-3:417; 476; 509; 512; 513; 614; 654; 776
34	terra cotta CEW	not determined	FeAx-3:645
35	terra cotta CEW	not determined	FeAx-3:703; 704
36	coarse unidentified white fabric CEW	not determined	FeAx-3:578; 604; 608; 632; 633; 640; 643; 644; 657; 665; 712; 731; 748; 760;

*Artifact numbers for Vessel 24 only includes sherds that had both white and brown glazing on the sherds. Sherds with just brown glaze included: FeAx-3:419; 420; 449; 470; 472; 473; 475; 651; 659; 666; 709; 747; 779; 781 and 782. Sherds with just white glazing included FeAx-3:391; 421; 422; 451; 474; 523; 527; 529; 607; 652; 671; 778 and 781.

Great Caribou Island (FbAv-13)

Vessel Number	Ware Type	Vessel Form	Artifact Number
1	pearlware	flatware	FbAv-13: 7; 10; 56; 61; 169; 170
2	creamware	tableware	FbAv-13:40; 103; 125; 144
3	white rew	undetermined	FbAv-13:22
4	REW	holloware	FbAv-13:2; 11; 155
5	Pearlware	holloware	FbAv-13:133; 138; 151; 168
6	creamware	undetermined	FbAv-13:173